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Committee on Un-American Activities
House
86th Congress

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COMMUNIST TRAINING OPERATIONS

PART 3

(Communist Activities and Propaganda Among
Youth Groups)

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

FEBRUARY 4 AND 5 AND MARCH 2, 1960

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

(INCLUDING INDEX)

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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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DONALD L. JACKSON, California

GORDON H. SCHERER, Ohio

WILLIAM E. MILLER, New York

AUGUST E. JOHANSEN, Michigan

RICHARD ARENS, *Staff Director*

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121 STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *
17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136 To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 86TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 7, January 7, 1959

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

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* * * * *

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

COMMUNIST TRAINING OPERATIONS

Part 3

(Communist Activities and Propaganda Among Youth Groups)

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1960

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:00 a.m., in the Caucus Room, Old House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Honorable Francis E. Walter (chairman) presiding.

Subcommittee members: Representatives Francis E. Walter, chairman, Pennsylvania; Clyde Doyle, California; Edwin E. Willis, Louisiana; Donald L. Jackson, California; and Gordon H. Scherer, Ohio.

Committee members present during hearings: Representatives Walter; Doyle; Tuck, Virginia; Scherer; and Johansen, Michigan. (Appearances as noted.)

Staff members present: Richard Arens, staff director, and Donald T. Appell and Robert H. Goldsborough, investigators.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. Who is your first witness, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Herbert Romerstein. Please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers the oath.

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand, please.

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF HERBERT ROMERSTEIN

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. My name is Herbert Romerstein. I live in Brooklyn, New York. I am a free-lance research specialist, and I do some writing.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Romerstein, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. I was a member of the Communist Party from 1947 to 1949.

Mr. ARENS. Did you subsequently, of your own volition, break with the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make information at that time available to your Government respecting the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. In 1951 I testified before the Internal Security Subcommittee.

Mr. ARENS. Have you subsequently maintained an interest in Communist activities among youth organizations?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, I have.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Romerstein, it is our understanding that in the past summer in order to acquire information for your Government you attended the Vienna Youth Festival held in Vienna, Austria.

I should like to have you, if you will please, sir, proceeding at your own pace, tell us something of the international structure of the group that sponsored the Vienna Youth Festival.

Then we will proceed from there to discuss with you the local organization or organizations which sponsored the Youth Festival, and then we would like to ask you questions respecting the festival itself, which we understand you attended.

May I, as a point of departure, ask you, first of all, on the basis of your background and current study, what is the current drive, current program, of the Communist operation on American soil in regard to youth?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Sir, let me first point out that my primary purpose in going to Vienna was not to obtain information for the Government, although the Government is always welcome to anything I know about anything, any sort of subversive activities against this country.

My primary purpose in going was to present an American point of view in Vienna, because I knew American Communists would be going over there and pretending that the American people were supporters of Communist ideology.

Mr. ARENS. I did not mean to suggest in my question, Mr. Romerstein, that you were going under Government auspices or that you were going, in any sense, as one in Government employ to acquire information.

Would you respond, if you please, sir, to the question with reference, first of all, to the current program of the Communist operation on American soil to attempt to penetrate youth groups.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. I have here a copy of the June 1959 issue of Political Affairs, which is the Communist Party theoretical organ and which was distributed in the party when I was a member, as well as being distributed today. It carries a report by Hyman Lumer, who served as, in effect, national youth director of the Communist Party. Although he is a middle-aged man he is national educational director and also took charge of youth work of the Communist Party.

This is the report he made in April, 1959.

He points out that a number of nonparty Marxist youth groups have sprung up, chiefly on college campuses, and points to one in particular, in New York, which calls itself the Student Committee on Progressive Education, or SCOPE, for short. This organization is running Marxist classes.

But he also points out that in one area, and this a quote: "In one area, there is a pre-teen group consisting of youngsters 11-12 years of age."

There is one important point I think we should mention. Some of these young people who are involved in the SCOPE group and in the group known as the "Call" group—

Mr. DOYLE. What group is that?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. That is Call, C-a-l-l.

This was signers of A Call to Youth which appeared in Political Affairs in April, 1958.

This group has frequently expressed its contempt for this committee, its contempt for American institutions, but when they receive their orders from the Communist Party they do not express contempt. They simply take those orders.

Let me give you an example of this. This group wants the formation immediately of a nationwide Marxist-Leninist youth organization.

Mr. ARENS. When they say a nationwide Marxist-Leninist youth organization in Communist jargon, what do they actually mean?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. It may be called a Young Communist League, as it once was, or American Youth for Democracy or Labor Youth League or something else entirely. It is, in fact, the youth section of the Communist Party. They wish to set this up nationwide, as soon as possible. They have been discussing this for quite a while now.

Because of the internal situation in the Communist Party, where some of the leaders of the party are in a different faction than the leaders of this youth group, the party has not permitted them to form this nationwide youth organization. Lumer points out in the article that this is not the time for such a nationwide youth organization.

Let me point to something that I received when I was in the party. It is a publication called "Youth" and it was put out by the National Youth Commission of the Communist Party in 1948.

They define a term they call "vanguardism." That is, they, the youth, did not "understand that the party was the vanguard of the entire working class, including the youth, and that they did not have the responsibility of formulating general and overall political policy." In other words, the youth are not permitted to think for themselves. They are supposed to do what the party tells them to, and at the national convention of the Communist Party in December, 1949—pardon me—1959, which I covered from the press room, a resolution was passed on youth which uses almost the exact same terminology.

The party is the vanguard of the working class and, therefore, of the youth, as well as of non-working-class youth.

It should not and does not delegate its vanguard role to any other group or organization. To do so would mean to set up more than one center of Communist leadership, more than one Communist Party.

These young people who are so brave before congressional committees knuckle down when the Communist Party tells them they cannot form a youth organization immediately and they have to form local committees until the Communist Party is able to establish a national youth commission to control the situation.

I wonder about whether any of them might have courage to buck the Communist Party on this. As yet we have not seen any evidence of this.

(At this point, Mr. Johansen entered the hearing room.)

Mr. SCHERER. Whom did you say was the author of that publication?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Sir, the Political Affairs?

Mr. SCHERER. The article you were referring to?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. The person was Hyman Lumer.

Mr. SCHERER. Hyman Lumer. We had a Wilfred Lumer. Is he related to this man?

Mr. ARENS. We had Hyman Lumer in Pittsburgh, Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Lumer was also identified.

Mr. ARENS. There was a Wilfred Lumer. That was on another subject. Hyman Lumer is the educational director of the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHERER. Are they related?

Mr. ARENS. I do not think so.

Would you kindly outline for the committee, Mr. Romerstein, the background and structure of the international setup which sponsored the Vienna Youth Festival held in Vienna, Austria, just last summer?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. The festival was organized as the previous six festivals were by two international Communist organizations, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, with its offices in Hungary, and the International Union of Students, with its offices in Czechoslovakia.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the second one?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. The International Union of Students. These two groups are the international Communist youth and the student organizations. They set up what they call an International Preparatory Committee to run the Vienna Youth Festival which met in Stockholm in 1958 and decided that they would have their festival in Vienna.

Mr. ARENS. May I interpose this question. What is the age bracket of those who are in charge of the international apparatus which has been putting on these youth festivals?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. I have not run across any of them under thirty. Most of them are in their forties. In particular, the delegate of the Austrian Communist youth organization—all Austrian youth boycotted the festival except the Communist group called the Free Austrian Youth—their delegate to the Stockholm meeting that organized the festival was 46 years old. His name was Walter Wachs. He is a 46-year-old youth.

Let me point out once more on this question as to whether the Communists allow the youths to make decisions for themselves—the American representative to the International Preparatory Committee was over 60 years old. His name is Holland Roberts, and he ran a Communist education institution in California called the California Labor School and was the American representative to the Communist World Peace Council.

Mr. DOYLE. You say he was over 60 years old?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. He was teaching school in 1918.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you say that the members of this preparatory committee that admittedly were Communist, averaged between 30 and 40 years of age?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. And sometimes as high as 50. But they do not admit they are Communists, except in a handful of cases where they openly state they represent Communist youth organizations. Sometimes the organizations have democratic sounding titles.

Mr. DOYLE. I never heard of people of that age being youths, Mr. Chairman. It looks like they are adults, young adults.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Instead of youths.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. But the Communists are very frightened of permitting the youth to make any decision.

This is the magazine of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, World Youth, and it appears in a number of different languages, the same issue—in German, English, and Russian. But interestingly enough the Russian and English editions do not carry one article that appears in the German edition, July 1959, that is, "American Youth Go to Vienna, by Holland Roberts, member of the bureau of the International Preparatory Committee." They were afraid to tell the American young Communists that their representative was over 60 years old.

In the English copies of the publication this article does not appear. But in the German issue of this publication it does appear.

The CHAIRMAN. You say the American representative of the youth at this festival was over 60. Who selected this boy of 60?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Well, sir, I don't know who selected him, except that shortly before he turned up in Vienna he was in Moscow for a meeting of the World Peace Council, which is an international Communist front, and quite possibly he was one of the highest ranking Communists in Europe at the time and they just needed somebody to fill the post.

The CHAIRMAN. He presumed to speak for this great Republic?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. And for American youth in particular, yes.

Mr. DOYLE. I would think that even Communist American youth would feel rather insulted and let down to have come out of their total group only one man of 60 years of age to take the leadership.

The CHAIRMAN. If you think the Communist youth were insulted, how do you think the 99 percent of the fine, redblooded, decent American kids feel when somebody like that presumes to speak for this country of ours?

Go ahead.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. I did hear that many of them were very upset by it, and they were upset because Marvin Markman, who was head of the United States Festival Committee, was not permitted to become a member of the International Preparatory Committee, and instead this man was appointed.

It is simply the question of the Communists not trusting young people, even young people who are Communists. They feel that every Communist is a potential ex-Communist, perhaps, and they can only trust the older ones.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, just one question.

Do I understand that the gentleman you referred to, this young-old man, was Mr. Holland Roberts?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Excuse me, sir?

Mr. JOHANSEN. What was the name of the gentleman who represented the American youth?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Holland Roberts; yes, sir.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Isn't he an educator or hasn't he been in education? Supposedly?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. He was the director of the California Labor School, which was the West Coast edition of the Jefferson School of Social Science.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Twenty years ago was he a member of the board of directors of what was then known as the Progressive Education Association?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Sir, this I don't know from personal knowledge.

Mr. SCHERER. You said he taught school as early as 1918; did you not?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. He said that in testimony before the California State Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. SCHERER. Go ahead.

Mr. ARENS. Have you completed your presentation, Mr. Romerstein, with reference to the International Preparatory Committee?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Would you then complete that presentation?

Holland Roberts was not the representative of the youth as such; he was on the preparatory committee, was he not?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir; he was on the committee.

Mr. ARENS. Representing the American setup on the International Preparatory Committee.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir, but also the International Preparatory Committee maintained control over the festival all during the festival itself.

Mr. ARENS. Will you continue and complete your presentation with reference to the international setup before we get to the organizing committee in the United States?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. Let me point out that at the first meeting of the organizing committee in the United States on October 4, 1958, a representative of the International Preparatory Committee was present. His name was Floyd Williston, and he is a Canadian, and he represents an organization called the Socialist Youth League of Canada. According to a letter of the official National Federation of Canadian University Students, the Socialist Youth League of Canada is a branch of the Labor-Progressive Party, which has no elective representative in Parliament and is, in effect, the Communist Party of Canada. So this Canadian Communist, Floyd Williston, came down to help organize the American festival committee and Williston was also with the original preparatory committee meeting in Stockholm, Sweden.

He has appeared at the meetings of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, of which he was a secretary until their meeting in August in Prague; and here is a picture of Williston on a visit to Communist North Korea, subsequent to the World Youth Festival. With him is Tom Morris, who has taken Williston's position with the World Federation of Democratic Youth. Williston has since been removed, and quite possibly we will be accorded visits from Mr. Morris, another Canadian Communist, to help organize Communist youth activities in the United States.

May I go a little further into some of the personalities who were involved in the organization of the festival?

I heard here yesterday—may I digress for a moment—some people complaining that they did not want to appear on the same platform with Nazis. I don't know what they had reference to in particular. But I know that they did appear on the same platform with Nazis. The Austrian youth organization—

Mr. DOYLE. Those were two young men before this committee yesterday that I noticed read the same statement, the same text.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. The Austrian youth organization, Junges Leben, reported during the festival that the Austrian Peace Council, a well-known Communist institution, has meanwhile delegated its secretary to assist the permanent commission of the festival. The Peace Council has a special task of recruiting reliable interpreters. The interpreters were the people who ran each delegation. I think this will be testified to by other witnesses who know more about it than I do.

The representative of the Communist Party of Austria and the Communist Peace Council was Max Schneider, a middle-aged Austrian Communist that run the delegation. The head of the Austrian Peace Council, the man who set up this program and who aided the International Preparatory Committee in setting up the international Youth Festival, was Heinrich Brandweiner. Mr. Brandweiner is the president of the Austrian Peace Council, a member of the World Peace Council, and a holder of the Lenin Peace Prize.

On May 1, 1938, less than 6 weeks after Hitler invaded Austria, Mr. Brandweiner joined the Nazi Party and held Nazi Book No. 6236254. This man, who served as a stooge for the Nazis and betrayed his own country, Austria, now turns up betraying his country, Austria, to the Communists.

This was reported by the Investigating Committee of Free Jurists in Berlin, which was making studies of various ex-Nazis and current Nazis working in the international Communist apparatus.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand that this man, an Austrian, a former Nazi, led the American delegation of Communist youth?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. No, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. What was it?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. The Austrian Peace Council provided the man who led the American Communist youth. He was head of the Austrian Peace Council that organized the entire leadership.

Mr. DOYLE. Here we have the record of the American Communist youth being led by an Austrian Communist?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Who was an adult?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. About how old a man was he?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. He was in his forties.

Mr. DOYLE. In his forties?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir.

Let me also say, as a Jewish American I was a little bit upset by Ben Davis presuming to speak for Negro, Puerto Rican, and Jewish youth, yesterday.

As I said before, I attended the last convention of the Communist Party, in the press room. They did not admit the press to the con-

vention itself in December 1959. And Mr. Davis held a press conference, and I asked him whether the convention passed a resolution against Soviet anti-Semitism. He said there was no Soviet anti-Semitism, that this was something made up by John Gates and his faction of the Communist Party, who have since been driven out.

Frankly, people who cover up the Soviet anti-Semitism cannot speak for me in the United States. I am a Jewish American and I prefer to speak for myself.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Romerstein, would you now direct your attention and comment to the organizing committee in the United States for the festival?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. There were two organizing committees for the festival. One was the United States Festival Committee, with headquarters in New York, which was run by Joanne Grant and Marvin Markman and with the assistance of some of the people who did not themselves go to Vienna, such as Jake Rosen.

But in Chicago there was another group called American Youth Festival Organization, which was run by Barbara Perry and through which a number of the non-Communist young people registered.

Many of the non-Communist young people also registered through the New York office, but a large number of them registered through the Chicago office.

In my own case I originally registered through New York. They were distributing publications saying the festival was open to all young people regardless of political viewpoint. Soon I received back a letter from Joanne Grant and Marvin Markman telling me my application had been rejected.

So I sent another application to Chicago to Barbara Perry and was admitted to the Chicago delegation, and that was the way that I went to Vienna.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have an experience with the New York group in a meeting?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. I distributed a leaflet at a meeting of the New York group, protesting my being barred from the delegation and calling this a witch-hunt, which it was. These were people who would bar other people because of their political beliefs.

As a result of this, a group of the Communist hoodlums came down and tried to rough me up a bit and tore up the leaflets, and so on.

I succeeded in retaining a few, and as the young people came to the meeting I allowed them to read the leaflet in my hand.

I think you will hear more about the meeting upstairs, but I was not present at it.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Romerstein, have you completed your presentation in outline form, at least, of the New York group and Chicago group of the organizing committees?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. May I just point to one more thing?

The Austrian students gave some of the background of the individuals who were officials of the World Youth Festival. A delegate from Italy who was head of the Italian youth organization and was at that time head of the World Federation of Democratic Youth was Bruno Bernini, who was 40 years old.

The delegate from Greece was 44 years old. Lubomir Dramaliev of Bulgaria sent a letter in which he indicated he was head of the students

commission at the festival. Mr. Dramaliev is 35 years old and by coincidence is the son of the Bulgarian Communist Ambassador to East Germany. This 35-year-old student set up the student section of the World Youth Festival. This goes on and on. I will not take up your time with it.

But countless times these international Communist agents can no longer consider themselves youths.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any of these youths have any voice whatsoever in the selection of their leadership?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Well, sir, in many cases this leadership came from behind the Iron Curtain, where the young people have no voice in the selection of leadership. In the case where they came from Western countries, some of them were from the Communist youth organization and, as I pointed out before, have no voice of their own. They must carry out the dictates of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they select a chairman, according to democratic processes? Did they have an election and nominate candidates for chairman and that sort of thing?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Not normally. In the one case where we did have an election—perhaps I should tell the story now—Marvin Markman was the chairman of the United States Festival Committee with headquarters in New York. He was not elected to this. This was sort of an appointed office. When we arrived in Vienna, the majority of the American delegates, being non-Communists, voted to elect our own chairman and we repudiated Mr. Markman. Subsequent to the festival, I attended a meeting of the United States Festival Committee held in New York where Mr. Markman was once again introduced as the chairman. I asked him a question during the question period.

I said, "Who appointed you chairman? We voted to repudiate you in Vienna." And I think his answer was typical. He said, "There are elections and there are elections and sometimes you can carry this democracy stuff too far."

Mr. DOYLE. It looks to me like the American youth in the Communist outfit were led around by their noses by men from 30 to 60 years of age, according to your record.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Romerstein, would you pick up the thread of your presentation when you arrived at Vienna?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. In Vienna, there was a split in the American delegation on this issue of electing our own leadership and making our own decisions. I will not go into too much detail about this because I think it will be covered by another witness who was closer to the internal situation than I was.

But the Communists at no time allowed the non-Communist young people to have a voice. They carried out the protracted negotiations. They played all sorts of parliamentary games, but they were definitely sure that young people who disagreed with them should not be heard.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Romerstein, by the Communists, you mean not only the Communist hierarchy that controlled the organizing committee of the international setup, but likewise the American Communist youth who attended: is that correct?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. That is quite correct.

Mr. ARENS. What experience did you have when you attempted to procure your credentials in Vienna?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. My credentials were challenged by the people who said they represented the New York delegates, although in Prague the majority, even the New York delegates, had repudiated the Communist leadership. But for purposes of identification, the non-Communist group was usually referred to as the Chicago group and the pro-Communist group as the New York group.

The New York leadership refused to accept my credentials, and the Chicago group voted overwhelmingly that all of us should be admitted, including myself and including some of the young people who had been born behind the Iron Curtain.

This I think is of interest. Because of the terror that the Communists have that somebody who knows something about communism will be able to reach their people, they attempted to bar all American young people who were born behind the Iron Curtain, that is, naturalized American citizens. I was born in the United States, but I was perhaps in the same category because I had been in the Communist Party. And the Communists fought as hard as they could to keep us out, although we had been accepted by the majority of American delegates and participated in the festival activities.

Mr. ARENS. What did they do with reference to the Chinese delegation to the festival, from the standpoint of isolating them from other youths?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. The Chinese delegation did not live in the same barracks as the Americans, for example, but were housed in private homes of Austrian Communists in the city of Vienna. They were shepherded around wherever they went. They were ringed by a circle of Chinese guards and around them Austrian Communist guards to make sure nobody got to them.

Before the festival started, I attempted to hand out a leaflet to the Chinese delegates as they arrived at the railroad station and I was jumped by a group of Austrian Communist guards, which resulted in all of us being pulled in by the Austrian police. This was quite simple. They were afraid these Chinese would receive a leaflet explaining to them that American young people are anti-Communist.

The Hungarian youth, too, were very carefully controlled. This is an official press release of the International Preparatory Committee dated July 25 in which they said, "The Hungarian delegates will live on their ships in the swimming city on the Danube Winterhafen." The Hungarian delegates were housed aboard ships on the Danube with guards around the ship to make sure nobody got to them.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Romerstein, this committee has been subjected to considerable attack, to which it is accustomed, in the course of the last several days, both from Communist sources and indeed from some ostensibly non-Communist sources, for bringing before the committee under subpoena young people who were at the festival, each one of whom has been, of course, carefully screened by this committee and found to be in the Communist operation.

Did these young Communists who attended the Youth Festival—and I say this almost with tongue in cheek—did these young Communists do anything to promote the American way in the festival?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. No, sir; at no time. The majority of the American delegates did, but this handful of Communists who were recognized by the International Preparatory Committee and who controlled the situation that way—these people did nothing to promote the United States. They frequently spoke against the United States. They distributed anti-American propaganda, and I have many examples of the anti-American propaganda they distributed.

Mr. DOYLE. I would like to see one of those.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have some photographs that were distributed there, too, of alleged atrocities by American boys in Korea?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Let me first show you this poster. This was supposed to be a nonpolitical festival. I took this picture in Vienna of a poster being carried by some Japanese that said, "No More Hiroshimas" at a nonpolitical festival.

This is a picture taken of a mural drawn by a Guatemalan and exhibited during the festival as part of the official festival activities. It shows alleged American atrocities in Korea, such things as germ warfare, shooting people in the back, and all the other nonsense. In the case of shooting people in the back, this was the way the Communists murdered our prisoners-of-war.

Mr. ARENS. Were these young Communists under subpoena to appear here and for whom such apologies and protests appeared in certain of the American press—did these young Communists get up at this festival and protest these germ warfare displays?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. No, sir. At no time. As a matter of fact, Marvin Markman, who spoke at this meeting I referred to before, held after the festival was over, in New York, said he saw no political propaganda during the festival. As a matter of fact, the only thing he saw, he said, were people putting up signs saying "Freedom for Tibet and Hungary," and he thought it was a good idea that people were beaten up by Austrian Communist hoodlums, because it was a nonpolitical festival. All over the place there was Communist political propaganda.

Here is a leaflet containing greetings from the World Council of Peace, an international Communist front. A very interesting thing takes place here because, according to Austrian law, if you wish to have a leaflet printed the print shop was to be designated. The print shop for this leaflet called Globus Verlag has an address in Vienna. That same print shop printed this English and Spanish edition of the official festival newspaper and also prints this newspaper, Volks Stimme, the official organ of the Austrian Communist Party.

The Austrian Communist Party, for instance, has headquarters in the same building that produced the press literature and the greetings from the World Peace Council.

Mr. DOYLE. You would expect that kind of fraud and deceit; wouldn't you?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. You would. I, myself, on July 14, visited the press office of the International Preparatory Committee where I found a stack on the floor for distribution of copies of the Communist Party newspaper, Volks Stimme, and it was very frequently that we saw Communist literature.

We saw this in the Soviet pavilion, this one in German and one in English: "They will live under communism," with the big hammer and sickle of the youth of the Soviet Union.

Mr. ARENS. Here is an editorial that said:

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has now used its subpoena power to hale before it five young men and women who had the temerity to attend one or another of the World Youth Festivals,

and so forth, the theme of the editorial being that this committee is undertaking to interfere with the right of young people to travel.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was that?

Mr. ARENS. It was in The Washington Post, Mr. Chairman.

Now, each one of these five, Mr. Romerstein, has been identified by competent witnesses under oath as a member of the Communist Party. Did any of these Communists who attended the festival who are championed here in The Washington Post editorial, which criticized this committee for subpoenaing them before us—did any of them do, as the Post suggests here, anything for America, for the American way of life, against communism at the festival?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. No, sir. On the contrary. Everyone of them fought against those of us who were attempting to taunt the Communists.

Mr. ARENS. As one who is not a Communist and who attended the festival and who attempted to portray the American way of life and attempted to defeat the Communists there, do you feel that you are now being persecuted because we have invited you to appear before this committee and tell the Government of the United States what went on in that Communist-controlled festival?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Not at all, sir. As a matter of fact, in the next festival in 1962 if the Communists permit me to attend it, I will. I feel I have not been terrorized at all by this committee. I never have been. This is a committee of the Government of the United States that I support.

Mr. ARENS. Where is the next festival to be held, by the way?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. They have given us various answers to this. They are postponing it to 3 years instead of 2. It will be held in 1962, and they claim they have contacted the governments of England and Italy for permission to hold a festival in those countries and have received no answer. But the speculation, even in Communist circles, is that they will not permit the festival to be held outside the Iron Curtain again, because of too much trouble outside the Iron Curtain. Perhaps the next will be held once again, as the first six were, in a Communist country.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any information respecting Communist arrangements or penetrations in Havana, Cuba?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. There will be a Latin Youth Festival in Havana, Cuba, in the second 2 weeks of July, 1960. Plans are under way for an American Communist youth delegation to go down to Havana to represent American youth at this conference. The decision to hold this conference was made by the International Union of Students, once again an international Communist front; and the Castro government of Cuba is apparently very happy to allow the Communists to hold their meeting there.

Mr. ARENS. Would you in your remaining few minutes of presentation, please, Mr. Romerstein, allude to the pro- and anti-Communist propaganda which was the subject of the operation there in Vienna?

I say to the committee that another witness who also attended the festival, a fine young American, has information, he will tell about other incidents which occurred there. We are trying to avoid a duplication of incidents.

If you will just devote your attention to that subject, Mr. Romerstein, and then we can proceed with another witness and the other incidents there.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. For example, during the festival, there was distributed the official greetings to the festival by Nikita Khrushchev, who greeted the participants of the Seventh World Festival of Youth and Students in Vienna and gave his heartiest good wishes.

According to an official press release of the International Preparatory Committee, there were speeches made at one of their meetings in opposition to the United States for throwing the atom bomb on Japan and things of that sort, and Hiroshima victims appeared at this rally.

The hardest-fought bit of Communist propaganda was at a seminar, a student seminar on colonialism, and a number of the American delegates participated in this, and this was where some of the anti-Communist delegates attempted to put their point of view across.

The Communists had condemned colonialism of England and France and alleged that the United States was a colonial power.

When one of the American delegates, Jo Anne Mellors, who was a British subject but in the American delegation, stood up and proposed to the seminar condemnation of colonialism in Hungary and Tibet, they said they would not accept any resolutions, although the next day they passed a resolution against colonialism in Algeria.

This is a German Communist magazine with a cartoon showing the festival symbol and people that they refer to as anti-festival at the bottom. One is Radio Free Europe making broadcasts, and the other is marked NTS (National Alliance of Russian Solidarists), which is the Russian anti-Communist group, giving out copies of "Dr. Zhivago."

I met many of these people in Vienna who gave out copies of "Dr. Zhivago" to the Soviet delegates. This was very much frowned upon by the Soviet regime. I will not go too far into this, except to point out that all of the Austrian youth organizations opposed the festival except the official Communist Free Austrian Youth. The Communists were very happy to tell the people in Vienna that there was an official festival committee at the City College of New York, that they were recognized by the City College as an official organization. This is true. What they neglected to tell the people of Vienna was that City College passed a resolution saying:

Believing on the best available evidence, that the Vienna Youth Festival Committee is a propaganda effort of the Soviet Union, the SFCSA [Student-Faculty Committee on Student Activities] wishes to record its opposition to student participation in the CCNY Vienna Youth Festival Committee, but at the same time, recognizing the rights of students to publicize and encourage participation in it if they so wish.

Buell Gallagher, the president of City College, was very outspoken and forthright, alerting the young people at the college of Communist sponsorship of the festival and the fact that the college frowns on

participation, but believes in democratic procedure. So he allowed them to form a Communist festival committee on the campus.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting a new Communist publication that is being developed in New York City called the "Organizer"?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. I do not have too much information about this, except that I know that the editors are Jacob Rosen, who was a witness here yesterday, and Jacob Meyer Stein, also known as Mike Stein, who was president of the organization called SCOPE which I referred to earlier in my testimony. This is the preparatory group for the setting up of the New York Marxist-Leninist youth organization, completely under Communist Party control; and when the party feels that it controls the situation well enough, these young people will be permitted to form their nationwide organization.

One other Communist publication just came out called "Studies on the Left." It is a journal of research in social theory and review. This journal is published in Wisconsin and attempts to reach post-graduate students. It is a sort of theoretic organ for post-graduate students. It carries articles by people like Herbert Aptheker, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party who is not identified in the article as a Communist, and Albert Blumberg, another member of the National Committee of the Communist Party whom they do not identify as a Communist.

This is a frequent Communist tactic, to pretend they are something other than what they are. In this case they present them as certain Socialist and left-wing scholars. In practice this is an organ of the Communist propaganda.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting the deferral by the Communists of a founding committee for youth activities pending the completion of the very hearings in which the Committee on Un-American Activities is presently engaged?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. That is my understanding. The plans have been made to have the convention at the end of January, but this was postponed to avoid having to reveal this before the committee if they were questioned about it.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, I have just a few.

How old a man are you?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. I am 28 years old, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. You were in the Communist Party 2 years?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Why did you get out?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Well, sir, I joined the party originally at the age of 15 and a half, believing sincerely that these people wanted peace and were interested in the welfare of young people, in fact, and the minority groups. But, after having been in the Communist Party for a while, I discovered that these people were interested only in achieving power. They were prepared to lie, cheat, and to organize slave labor camps in the Soviet Union in order to achieve world power.

When I began asking questions within the Communist Party about specific policies, I was expelled. This was May of 1949. I still remained ideologically a Communist. I believed that perhaps Moscow really was right, even though I had some minor disagreements; but I suddenly had time to read, being out of the party, and I began reading the party literature that I missed while I was in, old party literature, and by 1950 I was pretty disgusted with communism and I realized this was a conspiracy to take over the world and destroy the Government I live under.

Mr. DOYLE. How much schooling have you had?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. I have had about 2 years of college.

Mr. DOYLE. Two years of college.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. You are a Jewish American?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I think you referred to two of the young men who testified yesterday and claimed their constitutional privilege as Jewish-Americans. Or am I in error?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. No, sir. They pretended they were claiming their constitutional privilege because they did not want to associate with Nazis, whereas in Vienna they had.

Mr. Ben Davis—by no stretch of the imagination is he Jewish—pretended to speak for the Jewish-Americans, whereas the Soviets have real anti-Semitism.

Mr. DOYLE. You are an American. Why didn't you come here and claim your constitutional privilege?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. I have nothing to hide. Sometime in the future if I am stupid enough to commit a crime, then I will claim my constitutional privilege.

Mr. DOYLE. You came without a lawyer. Why didn't you have a lawyer to protect your constitutional rights?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Because of my feeling that these constitutional rights would be protected by this committee, which has protected my constitutional rights. I saw no reason why I should not speak freely and tell the entire truth.

Mr. DOYLE. At the Youth Festival, according to my understanding and record, there was a good deal of roughhouse tactics in one or more places against some of the American delegates who were not Communists. Is that true?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. That is true. I experienced this myself, and a number of my friends in the American delegation were very badly pushed around.

Mr. DOYLE. When you and I use the term "roughhouse tactics" what do you mean?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. I mean, for example, that a British delegate to the festival was beaten unconscious and was carried to a hospital.

Mr. DOYLE. You said that in the seminars the American anti-Communists attempted to present their viewpoint and were prevented from so doing.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Weren't they recognized as also having the right to present the American viewpoint, the anti-Communist viewpoint?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. When they first began to speak, before the chairman of the session realized that they were going to present a viewpoint other than his, they were permitted to speak.

In the case of Jo Anne Mellors, as she began to speak the Communists set up yelling and howling, and the Russian translation of her speech was shut off so the Soviet delegates did not hear what she had to say.

Then a number of Communists were chosen at the seminar on colonialism to answer her.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you very much. I want to compliment you on what you have presented.

The CHAIRMAN. Governor?

Mr. TUCK. I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Johansen?

Mr. JOHANSEN. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to express the sincere appreciation of this committee for the cooperation that we have received from you in this distasteful task. You have made a great contribution to the preservation of the things that we all hold very dear. You are to be congratulated.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, please, Mr. Chairman, is Charles Wiley.

Please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers the oath to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand, please.

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WILEY. I do.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES WILEY

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. WILEY. My name is Charles Wiley. I live in Flushing, New York. I am a writer on international affairs, and I have a background as a research specialist on communism.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Wiley, you will be testifying in a few moments respecting the Seventh World Youth Festival. I want, if we possibly can, to avoid unnecessary duplication with the material which was covered a little while ago by Mr. Romerstein.

Will you, at your own pace, proceed to give us just a word of the initial arrangements made by yourself to go to the festival?

Mr. WILEY. My wife and I registered through the New York office. Mr. Romerstein explained the difference between New York and Chicago. We registered as official delegates and were given our delegate badges. I had not been identified anywhere as a non-Communist and I was accepted without question and, in fact, encouraged to go.

Mr. ARENS. You went in a separate group from the group in which Mr. Romerstein went; is that correct?

Mr. WILEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was in charge of the New York office?

Mr. WILEY. Marvin Markham, Joanne Grant, Jacob Rosen, Alan McGowan, the people that you are having here as witnesses, the hostile witnesses.

Mr. ARENS. All of whom, according to this record, have been identified as members of the Communist Party.

Mr. Wiley, so that we may avoid duplication, would you kindly pick up the theme of your testimony at your arrival at Vienna and direct your attention to the issue of the international Communist control of the American delegation?

Mr. WILEY. Yes, sir. In Vienna, an Austrian was attached to the American delegation as interpreter and general guide. As we heard from Mr. Romerstein, before we even went to Vienna there was international Communist control. When we went to Vienna it was complete.

On the first evening of the festival there was a split in the American delegation. The non-Communists demanded a chance to vote on who their chairman would be. The leader of the American delegation, or self-appointed leader of the American delegation at that time, staged a walk-out and all of the New York Communist delegates walked out of the meeting.

Mr. ARENS. You were credentialed as an American delegate?

Mr. WILEY. That is right, sir.

Mr. ARENS. You might give us, if I can reverse the field here a moment, a little background of the information of the meetings that you may have attended in advance of actually going to Vienna. I apologize for skipping that one item of information.

Mr. WILEY. The only thing I can say that has not been said by the previous witness was that, at the meeting where Mr. Romerstein was beaten up and his pamphlets thrown in a sewer, they sent five of their biggest boys down to get him because he was handing out things that were contrary to their propaganda.

Later, when they came upstairs there were three people in a room of about, I would estimate, 70 people at the meeting, when somebody complained about the roughhouse treatment given Mr. Romerstein—these three people said that this was the wrong thing to do, that we shouldn't have done it.

The Communists at the meeting answered, "Yes, perhaps it was the wrong thing to do strategically. Perhaps it will get us some bad publicity."

I did not hear anyone at that meeting, with the exception of these three people, say that there was anything wrong in beating him up except it might get bad publicity. The three people demanded a vote. The vote was held off by talk.

Joanne Grant was sitting next to me at the meeting and I asked her. I said, "Why don't you have a vote as to whether or not he will be accepted as a delegate?"

I said, "It seems obvious from the meeting that you would win the vote anyway."

And she said, "We are not going to have any vote on this. This decision has been made. It must stick and we cannot take any chances of having it changed."

MR. ARENS. Are you under the impression that the Communists in the American delegation thought that you might be one of their number?

MR. WILEY. Yes, sir; I think that they did. If not one of their number, they thought I was certainly to the extreme left. When a crisis arose in Vienna when there was a split in the delegation, knowing a little bit of Communist jargon, I passed myself off successfully as an American Communist and I was with the American Communist leadership when it reported to the International Preparatory Committee, the international Communist machinery, on the split in the delegation. They walked out of the meeting when they saw they would lose the vote. I was with them when they reported to Mr. Floyd Williston, a Canadian Communist, a top IPC official. I was allowed to go into the IPC headquarters that was guarded by an Austrian goon squad with the help of Mr. McGowan, who talked them into letting me in without a pass. I would like to thank Mac for that, very much.

When we got in there Mr. Williston asked for a report and was given a report on the activities of the night before. His first question after the report was given to him was, "Where was Max?"

I will return to Max in just a second.

The Communist leadership was very upset because it appeared that they had lost control of the American delegation and they were talking in terms of a compromise, in which there would be four delegates from New York and four delegates from the Chicago group put in charge of the entire American delegation.

Floyd Williston then told Mr. McGowan and Mr. Markman and I forget who else might have been there—at the time those two definitely were—he told them, "Of course, you understand that we will have to take back your special passes into the headquarters building, because if we have four from the other side as officials we cannot very well let you have passes without letting them have passes, and we can't afford to have them running around in here." That was inside the International Preparatory Committee building. So it was a free and open festival, "but we didn't want any non-Communist delegates running around the headquarters."

The decisions for the American delegation were made by non-Americans. They were made by Jean Garcias, a French Communist; Floyd Williston, a Canadian Communist; and Max Schneider, an Austrian Communist; and other international Communist leaders.

They had a meeting at which no Americans were present to my knowledge. I was with most of the American leaders while the meeting was being held.

MR. ARENS. Would you say that was thought control?

MR. WILEY. Definitely. The Americans had no decision, as far as I could see, as to what their strategy would be after the split in the American delegation. The orders came down from upstairs that under no circumstances would the two wings of the American delegation be brought back together again.

After having made that decision and having decided in advance—and I think this is an interesting study of Communist strategy, especially in the world situation where we are negotiating everywhere

with them—after having decided in advance that there would be no agreement they then offered to enter into negotiations with the non-Communist Americans, and for a week they carried on the farce of negotiations day after day after day, when they had decided before they ever sat down that they would never come to an agreement.

Mr. ARENS. You sat in with the fraction of the Communist movement there in Vienna which made that decision?

Mr. WILEY. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. They, thinking you were a pro-Communist?

Mr. WILEY. I sat in on most of the meetings for the first 2 days at the International Preparatory headquarters. I was there when Mr. Williston received his report. I was there when he told them they would have to take their passes away. I was there when the orders came down they were not to come to any agreement and to keep the delegation split, because they knew if there was a united delegation on a free vote they would lose control.

Mr. ARENS. Were you present when Paul Robeson, Jr., made the speech there?

Mr. WILEY. I don't know which particular speech you are talking about.

Mr. ARENS. The speech in which he was condemning the United States of America.

Mr. WILEY. I heard so many of the Communist leaders, including Mr. Robeson, attack the United States of America that I don't know which one you are referring to, but I heard all of them at one time or another attack the United States of America continually.

There is one thing I would like to bring out which I mentioned before. That is Max Schneider. I have a memo here that I wrote out for myself, and I am reading this because I want it to be very definite, truthful, and to the point:

Max Schneider was attached to the American delegation as "an interpreter." At the first meeting with Williston when the young Communists from the United States reported their difficulties, the first question, as I mentioned, that Floyd Williston asked was, "Where was Max?" Later I had a conversation with Max Schneider, at which my wife was present, and I repeated what Floyd Williston said and I said, "Max, is there some problem among the leadership as to what guidance had been given the American delegates?"

My wife and I put the following memorandum down immediately after this conversation was over. We ran to the nearest lonely spot and put it down so we would have it down pretty close to verbatim:

Schneider was very angry at this. He said that Williston had not criticized him personally. He said that there was complete agreement in the handling of the American delegation. And then he said the following: "I take full responsibility for the action of the group." He said that at the meeting when it appeared that the non-Communist majority would force a vote and when he saw that the Communists would lose he said: "I personally gave the order to McGowan to break up the meeting and walk out."

That is a direct quote. It was put down on paper immediately after he said it to my wife and myself.

One thing that I brought up with Max Schneider. I asked the same thing of Alan McGowan. I asked it of Max Schneider. I asked it of Floyd Williston. And I asked it of a woman leader of the IPC, whose name I don't know.

My question to each of them was approximately this:

Isn't one of the big problems here in Vienna that the Communist Party leaders back in the United States did not give the proper guidance to the young people who were coming over here to do the really important job for the party?

In each case I received the same answer, which was:

Yes, that is a big problem. These young American leaders here did not get guidance.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Wiley, you and Mr. Romerstein and one or two others have had a background of training and experience in coping with the international Communist conspiracy, and you know communism. You know its strategy. You know its tactics and you know its techniques.

Can you tell this committee, what was your judgment of the young Americans in the delegation who were non-Communists, how did they cope with the Communist tactics? Were they babes in the woods, or were they able to meet the Communists on their level and defeat them?

Mr. WILEY. I think you can best describe the majority of the non-Communist delegates as boys who were sent to do a man's job. Some of them had read a little of Marx, they knew a certain amount of theory—and I should stress this here—there were notable exceptions, but by and large they knew some Communist theory, they knew nothing of Leninist tactics, and when they were put up against a trained, organized Communist machine they were simply rolled over. The Communists knew the parliamentary tricks, they knew every dirty trick in the book, and these American kids were just completely unable to cope with it.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us about the Communist security in the use of violence?

Mr. WILEY. Yes, sir. I can. I can give you a few instances of it as reported in the press, and then I will be glad to give you a personal experience that I had.

These are just a few of the examples of violence: Cameraman beaten on festival grounds; the leader of a West German television team was severely beaten and his cameras smashed by the Austrian Communist guards. Another one: United Press International reporter Ferdinand Wimmer was hustled off the festival grounds by guards.

Willie Ruff, an American jazz musician, who had been praised peculiarly enough by the Daily Worker just a few days before for having appeared in Moscow, was beaten.

Mr. ARENS. Were you attacked personally?

Mr. WILEY. I was attacked personally during one of the main parades at the festival. Eight other Americans and myself, all accredited American delegates, had joined the parade. We had seen signs which said, "Freedom for the Congo, Freedom for Algeria, Freedom for Spain." Our people put up some signs that said, "Freedom for Hungary and Freedom for Tibet."

We were attacked by innumerable Austrian and Italian Communist hoodlums. One of our number, Jo Anne Mellors, was knocked to the ground and trampled on. My wife, who was obviously pregnant, was pushed around. The signs were ripped to pieces. At one point in the game, I would say, Miss Mellors had 15 people around

her, with three of them beating her. I rushed over to help her and I took one of the Communists off of her. I was attacked from behind by an American delegate who called for help and was joined by Austrian and Italian goons and at one point I must have had 15 or 20 of them on me.

Mr. ARENS. On which side were the five young Communists who are under subpoena of this committee, who are the objective of such solicitation in this editorial and object of solicitation in the picketing?

Mr. WILEY. Mr. Markman, at a meeting after the festival in New York, was asked about this and especially he was asked how a pregnant girl had been beaten up. And Mr. Markman replied that, "After all, you shouldn't go to a parade like this because you got to expect to be hurt."

When we asked why we should expect to be hurt at a peace rally, he refused to answer the question.

Mr. ARENS. Except for the few Americans who were thoroughly conversant with Communist strategy and tactics because of extensive experience in dealing with Communists, what was the strategy and tactics of the non-Communist youth who did attend the conference?

Mr. WILEY. Those that knew a little bit about communism tried to play the game the same way the Communists played it. In the parliamentary procedure they tried to outwit them. On one occasion they did. By and large there was a tendency throughout, among the American delegates, best covered by the phrase often used, "Let's not rock the boat," because everything that was said in defense of the United States of America or the Western way of life was attacked as antifestival, and the Communist strategy was to call anyone who defended our position, call them disrupters, and therefore most of the Americans let them get away with it.

They entered these negotiations, these hopeless negotiations day after day, and I am sad to report that after the 8th day of negotiation—7th or 8th day—one of the American non-Communist leaders came out and said, "Well, I think we made great progress today. I have very high hopes things are going to go better."

Mr. ARENS. That was after the Communists had determined in advance that they were to have no agreement.

Mr. WILEY. And the non-Communists, incidentally, had been told by me exactly that before they entered the negotiation.

Mr. ARENS. Is it a fair characterization to say, except for the few who were at the festival who had had experience in dealing with communism, who understood Communist strategy and tactics and who were informed on that subject before they left—with the exception of those few, the non-Communist Americans were out-manuevered in every respect in the festival?

Mr. WILEY. Definitely.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Wiley, was there an adult Communist from the United States in Vienna acting as an adviser to the American Communists or pro-Communist delegates?

Mr. WILEY. I cannot testify directly on that. I know from other sources that there was, but I did not personally see her and I would rather not testify to something that I did not personally see.

Mr. ARENS. Have you any other examples of the control and manipulation by the international Communist apparatus of the American Communists and of the festival?

Mr. WILEY. Yes, I think I can show you quite a few. I already mentioned their negotiations.

Incidentally, to get it clearly on the record, by the estimates of the Communist leadership of the American delegation, they were outnumbered by two and a half to one within the American delegation, with some other delegates in doubt, not enough to bring up the Communist ranks to a majority. And, as it turned out, most of those that were in doubt at that time turned out to be non-Communist. So I would say before the end of the festival, when everything was determined, the Communists were at least three to one underdogs among the American delegation.

Some of their controls were the Communist propaganda which was passed out; the same Austrian Communist guards who were beating up those who were handing out non-Communist and anti-Communist pamphlets were helping to hand out Young Communist League material from France and Austria.

One interesting example of the complete Soviet control was when the Soviet delegation came on the field at the main parade.

They had a sputnik pointed toward the sky, and as they passed the reviewing stand the Soviet delegation announcer said, "The delegation of the Soviet Union," and at that very minute the fireworks display went off and he started yelling "Sputnik, sputnik, peace and friendship."

It was explained later that that fireworks display had gone off coincidentally at the exact moment that the Soviet delegation, with the sputnik pointed to the sky, happened to go by the reviewing stand.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Wiley, would you tell us if you went on then to Moscow?

Mr. WILEY. Yes, I did. My wife and I were both signed up as members of an American delegation from the festival that visited the Ukraine and Moscow.

Mr. ARENS. Would you proceed to tell the committee the highlights of that experience with reference to the youth activities?

Mr. WILEY. We were shown a display that is hard to describe in many ways because it was almost unbelievable. Anti-Semitism was mentioned here yesterday by some of the comrades. While we were in the Soviet Union we saw anti-Semitism, and when we saw it the American Jewish Communists apologized for it among themselves. They found reasons why they didn't really see it at all and explained it all away. And I am sure that after they told their stories enough times they may begin to believe them themselves.

On one occasion in Moscow, one of our Jewish American Communists had talked to a Russian Jewish woman who told him about anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. When he got back to our hotel he told another American Jewish Communist about it. And the second fellow said, "Well, don't you know that under the Soviet constitution you cannot have any anti-Semitism? Did this woman give you any documentary proof?"

And the fellow said, "Well, no. I just met her on the street and she just told me about it."

He said, "Well, it is ridiculous. She is a capitalist agent," and so on and so on.

One-half hour later the first boy who had originally been approached by this woman was explaining to other delegates about the woman he met who was a capitalist agent of some sort who was passing out propaganda against the Soviet Union about anti-Semitism.

Mr. ARENS. In your experience in Moscow did you form a judgment as to whether or not there was a freedom of movement by the young people who were there, so that they could ascertain for themselves what the truth was?

Mr. WILEY. The Communists tried very hard to keep us from seeing much. One method they had of doing this was to give a single visa to 56 people. Only one man had a visa stamped in his passport. As far as the rest of us, if we had been picked up alone, we could not prove we were in the Soviet Union legally. Therefore, we could hardly wander too far away from the group.

They had all sorts of tours arranged for us to see anything in the world, the youth camps, factories, all sorts of things that most people did not particularly care about. But we were asked to keep to the schedule.

I will say that as some of the anti-Communists—and there were five of us on the trip—and some of the non-Communists, who became more and more anti-Communist as the trip went on, as we broke away from the delegation and just demanded not to go on these guided tours, we found—and this would be advice to any other Americans that go to the Soviet Union—that they are not going to shoot you if you just walk away from them, and the thing to do is just say, "I am not going on your guided tour today. I am sorry." And just walk away, and then you will get to see a little bit.

Mr. ARENS. Is there anything else of significance in your experience with the Youth Festival or your experience with the delegation that went on to Moscow which you would like to call to the attention of the committee?

Mr. WILEY. In so far as Moscow is concerned, I think I have covered that pretty much.

If I may have a few minutes, there are a few things that I would like to fill in.

One of them is that The Washington Post editorial, which was mentioned earlier today, has upset me very, very much. I cannot quite understand how a newspaper could so misrepresent something as that newspaper has.

Those of us who went there as anti-Communists are very happy to see it put on the record what happened in Vienna, and to say that these people who went over to Vienna to present the American point of view are being hurt by these hearings is just pure nonsense, and I just cannot understand how that newspaper could ever write such a thing.

A few other things that I did want to mention: I think that Congressman Walter has mentioned the possibility of the United States Government giving support to future festivals. I would like to say that aside from policy decisions—which of course we cannot go into here, that is a high policy decision—there are two other considerations, and I think one of them has been fairly well covered here and that is the type of representation that you have. I think certainly we don't want pro-Communists going over there; I think we certainly don't

want uneducated—and I mean educated from the Leninist point of view—uneducated American non-Communists going because they are simply going to lose out in any direct combat, and I use that not as physical combat, but in any direct action between themselves and the organized Communist machine. We have to send knowing people if we send any at all.

And I would like to say there is one other thing I think the American Government should be aware of before they send any Americans over, and this would essentially be in so far as American girls are concerned. There were a lot of things that went on in Vienna that bothered me very much. Paul Robeson, Jr., one of your witnesses, I think here, I hope that he can tone his language down a little bit here, but that man used four-letter words around young American girls at some of the meetings that I attended with the Communist leaders that made me turn a little pale, and I was in the United States Navy a couple of years in the Pacific Ocean.

The housing in Vienna for the delegates in some instances I thought was pretty terrible. They had the American girls staying in tents. I took my wife over to the area, and I found that in the tent next to the one we were going to put her, there was a fellow running around in nothing but shorts.

The delegates forcing their attention on girls for the sake of peace and friendship and a youthful international solidarity was pathetic sometimes.

I saw delegates go up to these pretty young Russian girls and throw their arms around them and kiss them and muss them up and do it, you know, to have their pictures taken with them.

I understand, in all fairness to the festival, that some of the situations in the tents were cleaned up after the first day or two. I did not get back there after the first day or two, but I was told that they did start to ban fellows from going in the girls' tents over there. But I do know by the last day or two of the festival there were things going on out in public, out on the grass of the festival grounds, that would be pretty terrible. I would not want my daughter when she grows up to go to a festival in that atmosphere.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that would conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions?

Mr. DOYLE. I think I just have two brief observations.

One is, I think I suggested it before, that I would think that the young Americans in the hearing room who went as delegates under Communist control would feel pretty well let down or ashamed at what happened in their attack, or the attack of the young Communists even, on our own country, according to this testimony, and for not resenting attacks against the United States. I would think they would be pretty well ashamed.

The other observation I wish to make is that I would think that they would feel pretty well let down in this revelation, which I think some of them must have known, that they were being led around by adult Communists of at least middle age.

And the other observation I want to make is that it seems to me that if there are any adults in this room who helped finance the trip of these young American Communists to the festival that they would

feel let down certainly, because, indirectly at least, it amounts to adult American Communists financing an attack upon the United States of America through the young Communists at the festival, who did not defend their own nation.

Mr. WILEY. There are two things I would like to mention if you have a second to do it. Is that all right, Mr. Chairman?

One is that, in view of the Post's editorial about the American delegates to the festival being punished by this committee, I have gotten together a list and I want to stress this—this is not a complete list—but it is a reasonably complete list. There are probably 25 or 30 people in addition who should be on it. But this is the best that I could do.

This is a list of Americans who were in Vienna. This is a list of anti-Communists and non-Communists. In some places people who went along with the Communists sometimes, but at least on one occasion stood up against them and did not follow the party line.

I could not possibly read it. There are a couple hundred names here. For the protection of those who did go to Vienna for the United States to present the American viewpoint, I would like to get this into the record if I could have it put in the record, Mr. Chairman.

(Document marked "Wiley Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

The CHAIRMAN. I would not be too disturbed by this Post editorial. The same issue of the Post had a story about a case being dismissed in a United States Court when actually only a count of the indictment was stricken.

I would not be concerned about the accuracy of anything you read in that paper.

I appreciate very much what you have done and I am sure our whole committee does.

It is indeed unfortunate that the youngsters in this country, thirsty, as most of them are, for knowledge, are not made aware of the pitfalls that are along their path.

This sort of thing that you have just described is typical of it. I do not know how many young people will go to the next meeting who are anti-Communists. But it seems to me that in the consideration of the legislation that this committee has just had drafted, we ought to make very strong recommendations to the Committee on Foreign Affairs on the advisability of selecting people to attend meetings of this sort officially. Of course, if anybody else wants to go, that is a different story; that makes no difference. But I think that the official representation ought to be people of whom we do not have to be ashamed.

From what I know of this meeting there are a great many Americans that we certainly cannot be very proud of.

That I think concludes the hearing for this morning. The committee will meet tomorrow at 10 a.m.

(Whereupon, at 11:25 a.m., Thursday, February 4, 1960, the subcommittee recessed to reconvene at 10:00 a.m., Friday, February 5, 1960.)

COMMUNIST TRAINING OPERATIONS
Part 3
(Communist Activities and Propaganda Among Youth
Groups)

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1960

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:00 a.m., in the Caucus Room, Old House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Honorable Francis E. Walter (chairman) presiding.

Subcommittee members: Representatives Francis E. Walter, Pennsylvania, chairman; Clyde Doyle, California; Edwin E. Willis, Louisiana; Donald L. Jackson, California; and Gordon H. Scherer, Ohio.

Committee members present during hearings: Representatives Walter; Doyle; Scherer; Moulder, Missouri; Tuck, Virginia; and Johansen, Michigan. (Appearances as noted.)

Staff members present: Richard Arens, staff director, and Donald T. Appell and Robert H. Goldsborough, investigators.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Will you call your first witness, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. Joseph Charles Jones.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jones, will you raise your right hand?

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth so help you God?

Mr. JONES. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH CHARLES JONES

Mr. JONES. I am Joseph Charles Jones, a student at Johnson C. Smith University, in Charlotte, N.C., in the theological department.

The CHAIRMAN. What denomination?

Mr. JONES. Presbyterian.

The CHAIRMAN. You are studying for the ministry?

Mr. JONES. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you attend the Seventh World Youth Festival in Vienna this past summer?

Mr. JONES. Yes, I did.

Mr. DOYLE. May I raise the point that the witness is here without legal counsel.

Mr. ARENS. He is a friendly witness.

The CHAIRMAN. This may be funny to some of you, but to those of us who are interested in trying to work out legislation, this is a very serious matter. The Chair will not tolerate any demonstrations. If there are any more, the room will be cleared.

Mr. DOYLE. I realize that, but I still raise the question that under our rules he is entitled to it, and I would like to have the record show that he waives it, if he does.

Mr. JONES. I really saw no need for having counsel, Mr. Doyle, because I would hope that things brought out here would not need any legal counseling. So I did not request it.

Mr. DOYLE. Excuse me for interrupting.

Mr. ARENS. Did you attend the Seventh World Youth Festival held in Vienna this past summer?

Mr. JONES. Yes, I did.

Mr. ARENS. Would you give us just a word, please, as to the reasons why your interest was first created in the festival and why you arranged personally to attend the festival?

Mr. JONES. Yes. I had been working with a student organization, the United States National Student Association, which had taken a stand against the festival, because they felt it was a propaganda tool of the Soviet Government, using it to further the propaganda of the Communist Party.

Because of my work with the United States National Student Association, I had become very familiar with the festival in Moscow. We had taken a stand against the festival by —

Mr. ARENS. May I interrupt? You are speaking so rapidly our reporter is having difficulty. If you would slow down it would be appreciated.

Mr. JONES. Because of the discussion and background and research that went into finding out about the festival in Moscow, I came to realize that this was an important international meeting, important not in terms of furthering international cooperation necessarily, but important in terms of attempting to bring and sway people into thinking about the Communist Party and joining the Communist Party. Then I realized, in the past, the delegations that had gone from the United States had prepared a picture which I, as an American student and as an American, did not feel really represented the whole truth of the American way of life.

For instance, one of the things which was brought out in one of the festivals which were held in the past—there were two things that represented the entire spectrum of the American system; one of these was a huge picture, a huge display of a very vivid lynching scene—just that picture—which I think could convey pretty well something about our system, but also there was another presentation which attempted to convey, and did pretty well, that the American working classes were working longer hours, were getting paid less, had no security in jobs in any sense. Many of them could not get jobs while their capitalist war dogs, who were exploiting these people for their own ends, were attempting to create a situation where there could be no international cooperation.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know the source of that propaganda?

Mr. JONES. It came from the delegations that purported to represent the Americans there at the festival.

Mr. SCHERER. From our own?

Mr. JONES. I would put Americans in quotations because these Americans, in fair analysis, would have to be termed sympathizers of the propaganda line, are very hard-core Communists. I could not say about their affiliations.

Mr. SCHERER. They were delegates from this country?

Mr. JONES. They took it upon themselves to go.

Mr. SCHERER. They were people or persons from the United States?

Mr. JONES. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. This was material you read in advance of your own trip to Vienna, was it not?

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. It was propaganda material you read advertising the Vienna festival or telling about other festivals?

Mr. JONES. Yes. This could be termed propaganda. Anything really can be termed propaganda, but I got my information from many sources. One of them was a group called the Independent Services for Information on the Vienna Youth Festival, a group out of Cambridge, Massachusetts, which is financed by a private firm. This group attempted to get to the college campuses as much information about the festivals, the background of the festivals, the purpose of the festival, as they could to reach as many college students as possible, so those who did want to go to the festival could be very informed about what they were getting into, and this was not just a beautiful existence of coexistence, and people were not there just to meet and sing and dance. It was really a serious thing as far as the Communist Party was concerned.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, because of your interest in the festival, which was created by the propaganda leaflets you had seen and regarded as the misrepresentation of America in these festivals, determine that you were going to go and, as one American, attempt to find out what was going on and attempt, in your humble way, to make a presentation of the truth? Is that what precipitated your interest in going?

Mr. JONES. That is exactly what precipitated my interest.

I don't know if, in my humble way, I did anything at all; but I felt to have persons at the festival who were immuned, so to speak, to the line which was perpetrated there and to have persons who could attempt to present in a rational manner the facts, not only about our system, but to attempt to analyze the facts about the Soviet system or any system, and to discuss rationally with these people at this festival what we felt was important.

Mr. ARENS. In your training at the religious institution where you are training for the ministry, you have developed, have you not, a firm conviction against the Communist ideology and for the ideology of freedom as we understand it under God?

Mr. JONES. I would rather say this, that I have formed a basic belief in the divinity of man, and if this belief contradicts the Communist line and, so, happens to go along with the American way,

fine. I would much rather think of myself as a person who has come to understand things in light of his religious orientation.

Mr. ARENS. You then sought to go to the Vienna festival?

Mr. JONES. Yes. I had friends who were aware of both groups that were being organized to go to the festival from the United States—one group out of New York and another group out of Chicago, which was organized to attempt to counteract, so to speak, the group from New York.

I found out who was heading the delegation or getting together the delegates from Chicago, and I informed her I would like to go, and to make all the necessary arrangements.

Mr. ARENS. We have had testimony on this record by two persons respecting the two groups and the leadership. We will not explore that with you now, but I would like you to pick up the theme of your presentation, if you please, upon your arrival in Vienna.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you go into that, I wonder if I could develop something which has been causing me great concern.

Has the college which you are attending received any propaganda from behind the Iron Curtain without solicitation—magazines depicting the so-called beautiful life among the freedom-loving Russians?

Mr. JONES. We have, from time to time, received some information. One was sent to me personally, information and propaganda material I would say, on the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which is an international organization, so to speak, but which we have found to be quite Communist-controlled.

This group did send information, and we have received other information. Where it came from or why, I would not take it upon myself to say.

The CHAIRMAN. We had a witness from the Treasury Department the other day testify about the millions of pieces of this propaganda going to schools and colleges without solicitation. Of course, it is apparently a military secret because I did not see anything about it in the press but I was wondering whether or not your school had been bombarded with this obvious propaganda.

Mr. JONES. I would really decline because I wouldn't really know. I would not be in a position to make a statement on that.

Mr. ARENS. When you arrived in Vienna, could you tell us the incident with respect to your signing in as part of the American delegation?

Mr. JONES. Yes. We had found that our group, the group out of Chicago, AYFO [American Youth Festival Organization], was not officially recognized and would not be officially recognized by the International Preparatory Committee because of the nature of the group, because we were coming to attempt to present a picture which they were obviously not attempting to present, and we would have quite a bit of difficulty being recognized. And we felt the best way we could do anything at all was to keep our identity as an independent group.

When we got to Vienna early in the morning we were met by two persons who gave us a slip of paper and said, "Sign this, and we will fill in the top."

This had at the top "Official American Delegation," which meant we would be linked with the group which was officially recognized

by the International Preparatory Committee, and our identity would have been completely dissolved in this.

Many of us refused to sign this, and many of us refused to sign anything that early in the morning. We did not know what was going on, and at four o'clock in the morning in Vienna we sought lodging. But we felt it was important to us to maintain our identity as individual Americans rather than to be linked with a larger group which would be sort of manipulated.

Mr. ARENS. Will you tell us the machinations or operations which led to the determination of the leadership of the Americans who were in attendance at the delegation, at the festival?

Mr. JONES. Upon the arrival we were quite aware of the fact that there were two factions among the Americans there.

The meeting was called the night before the festival officially began, to attempt to present to us an outline of activities that were to proceed at the festival, what would be our official role there at the festival, what we were to do when we marched in the parade, this type of thing, to get us oriented to the festival.

Many of us realized this was ridiculous, because no one was to say what we should do or how we should participate, and we met—all of the group, the aggregate of Americans there, met with their different identifications, et cetera.

Of course, this meant a big clash. It was a clash between the group that had gone from New York and the group that had gone from Chicago. At that point the persons who had been appointed—by whom I don't know—but the persons who had been appointed to organize and direct the American delegations took over and proceeded to manipulate the entire meeting.

Those of us who went attempted to get the floor and attempted to bring in some rational, some semblance of the democratic process where you can vote on anything, elect your own leadership.

The CHAIRMAN. Who presided?

Mr. JONES. There were two or three people presiding.

I will just say one of the persons who has been cited here, so to speak, as a leader in that group presided.

The CHAIRMAN. Who selected him?

Mr. JONES. I think the person was selected by the International Preparatory Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. He was not selected by the American delegation?

Mr. JONES. No, sir, not in the usual process of elections that we follow, where everybody has a chance to discuss the candidates and so on. And we felt this was ridiculous, because in any democratic process any group can assemble and elect its own leadership, whether it be at a Communist festival or not. This was the main reason for the conflict.

Finally, the sort of hard-core people who were attempting to direct the meeting left, and we began to elect our own leadership. One Malcolm Rivkin up in Cambridge was elected by the democratic process to negotiate with the International Preparatory Committee to get us officially recognized as a group and to carry on the official communication between the preparatory committee and ourselves.

Mr. ARENS. Would you recount the experience you had at the festival in which Paul Robeson, Jr. was addressing the delegation at which you were present?

Mr. JONES. In all fairness to those concerned, I think I should say first that the New York group had met the day after we had the big meeting and where there was a large clash, and they elected four people.

The way the election went I don't know, I was not in the meeting. But they elected four people. I think it was stipulated that these four people were to negotiate with the group elected from Chicago in trying to work out some way that we could peacefully coexist at the festival. I understand this is the only reason these people were elected, and this was stipulated in the nomination when it was made.

So, of these four people, Paul Robeson, Jr. was one of them. This was officially voted on by the group to negotiate.

It has happened that these four people so took it upon themselves to attempt to represent in an official capacity the entire group of Americans there. The reason I say this, in this little example of what you asked me, there was a meeting of the American and Soviet students on the festival grounds. This meeting had been very well planned. Everything that was to happen had been planned. There was to be a cultural exchange between the Americans and the Soviets.

The Americans had a group there, a choir which had been gotten together at the festival to attempt to represent the Americans, and a guitar player who sang folk songs and a couple of other guys.

And the Soviets, while not there at the particular meeting, had the Soviet ballet, this caliber of thing, and I think you can see the difference in the representation there.

At this meeting the Soviet leader got up and, in very beautiful English, welcomed all of us there to the meeting and said they were very concerned with our peaceful coexistence and our cultural exchange and felt this was good, and they welcomed us on behalf of the Soviet Government and delegation, we Americans. Then Paul Robeson got up and in very beautiful Russian—I had a chance to listen to this when I got back in the States—in very beautiful Russian he said, "We accept the sincerity or the concern of the Soviet students for this peaceful coexistence. We think this is a beautiful example of peaceful coexistence, and we hope we can meet and exchange our ideas." And this was interpreted into English by one Althea Sims.

I felt that this was somewhat a precedent that a person could stand up in this meeting and purport to represent the entire Americans. So I stood up and attempted to get the floor on behalf of the other faction, of which I was a part, and the process of getting me away began to come in. So I just stood up and began to talk.

I don't know exactly what I said, but I said I think that coexistence is fine, that in fact there is no other alternative. We have to coexist because we do exist. But I said I think to really coexist one must really represent very adequately and in an honest manner what he really believes, and if he does not believe this, then this is not a real cultural exchange because you do not have two representatives.

On behalf of the Americans who had been misrepresented, I bring greetings, so to speak.

I think the New York Times and other papers got hold of this and it was brought to our attention because of that.

Mr. ARENS. Did the Austrians boycott the festival?

Mr. JONES. Yes. The Austrian youth, long before the festival had taken place, had made a statement they would not cooperate with

the festival because they, too, realized this was not an attempt to maintain internationally an exchange and an attempt to promote international understanding, but it was a propaganda meeting of the Soviet Government. So they stated long before the festival they would not cooperate.

However, the government had to go along with the festival because political understanding of history says the Soviets had occupation troops in Austria up until the early '50's and one of the agreements in the pulling out of the occupation troops is that the Soviet Government could hold a festival there in Vienna.

So, while the government had to go along, the youth did not. They set up a counter-festival and they brought in some very well-known people. They had, first of all, information booths at all of the transportation centers there in Vienna to give people who were coming in—American students, tourists—information about the festival, in a nonpartisan manner, just attempting to present the facts. Then they set up, across from the International Preparatory Committee, their headquarters, which had information from various sources. They had booklets, information, research they had done on the festival, on many areas of communism and many areas of Americanism, et cetera, and you could get information at all times.

They also attempted to promote discussions in front of their headquarters, discussions between anyone who wanted to discuss them, but mainly between Americans or Westerners and Soviets or Communists. They went on constantly.

They also had trips to the Hungarian border. They provided the delegates to the festival busses to go down to the Hungarian border in order that they could see the barbed wire, the tours, and the Soviet Curtain, I suppose you would say, and this had a tremendous effect on many people.

Many of the delegations from the Eastern European countries who were attempted to be controlled by their leader did go and see this, and many Westerners really had a chance to see what this Iron Curtain was.

They had a service to get information from all areas of the festival, everything that went on. They had people sort of undercover, like, to get into all of the meetings, all of the seminars, and get information back to the headquarters so that they could publish this, and they presented—and this is the last thing on this—they presented simultaneously, when Paul Robeson, Jr. was being presented by the festival in the town, they presented Ella Fitzgerald, who is quite an accomplished professional musician. They presented her in another part of town as an attempt to counteract. I think it was pretty well. There were pretty close to 80,000 people there.

Mr. ARENS. Did Robeson at any time while speaking, purporting to represent American youth, reveal that he was a member of the Communist Party, the very instant he was speaking?

Mr. JONES. I never heard him say he was a Communist.

This may sound a little naive on my part. I didn't know he was a Communist, if he is. I did not know his affiliations, and still don't, until I got to talking with him personally; and we had many disagreements in attempting to present to some of the Africans and Asians facts about the United States, because everyone has his own package

of facts. But I didn't hear him at any point say that he was a member of the Communist Party; if he is, I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. You have told us, Mr. Jones, that you had deliberations and discussions with some of these young people who were there, these young people from Communist countries who were themselves Communists. I should like, if you please, to get your reaction on this record as to why it is and how it is that these young people accept the Communist ideology and Communist way, as contrasted with the freedoms we have in the West.

Mr. JONES. This is quite a job for such a person as I to answer. I would have one or two observations toward this.

I think one of the reasons that a person, say in the Eastern-European-bloc countries, would become Communist is, first of all, the information they have at their disposal is somewhat lacking in terms of presenting an interpretation of what is going on. We know this from many sources—the group I am working in, the United States National Student Association, has attempted to get exchange students in Poland and the Soviet Union itself.

One of the main reasons they give us—they don't say this, but the type of education is completely geared toward indoctrination toward the Communist line and the Communist way of thinking. The Soviet students have to give periodically the Marx Manifesto. They have to repeat this to persons. The whole educational system, so to speak, is somewhat geared toward this.

I hesitate to say why they have. In analyzing this, I think the Communist students, in general, are much more dedicated and understand much more thoroughly what it is they live by, why, and what it is they are to do, than many of us Americans. They have accepted what communism is, they know what they are doing, and they are trained in the dialectics. They are trained in whatever area they are specializing in, very rigidly, whereas many of us do not understand very much about our system, do not understand what is going on, or much about international affairs, and we do not really know what it is we believe.

Mr. ARENS. Let me interpose a question there.

Notwithstanding the fact that you were subjected to the pressures of Communist indoctrination at the festival, and were in intimate contact with the Communists there, you maintained your faith in the concepts of freedom and of God, did you not?

How do you account for the fact that you were able to perceive the fallacies of the Communist ideology and the Communist way and some young students were not, they were taken in and brainwashed and conditioned, some of whom are perhaps even in this hearing room?

Mr. JONES. Again that is a big order. I will attempt to do it.

I think in my undergraduate studies I had courses in logic, courses in the humanities, which enabled me to attempt to analyze basic problems in a logical manner. And also I have had quite an orientation in the Christian tradition. My father is a minister.

I think because of these two elements, because of my basic guidance and belief in the human dignity of man, the individuality, the freedom of the individual, I was able to analyze very critically for myself and for others, not only the fallacies in communism, mind you, but the

fallacies and manifestations of democracy which, because we being human, have come out in our system.

I do believe this, however, and I will commit myself very readily to this: I do believe that our system itself lends itself much more to the solution of the problems that man will encounter.

I think our system itself, which has as the preamble to the Constitution a basic recognition of the human individual, I think this is superior.

Mr. ARENS. Did the young Communists with whom you talked in any sense admit any defects in the Communist system?

Mr. JONES. No. This was impossible.

I think they realized this, and I think one of our main areas where we did most, if this is possible, was in, first of all, admitting our imperfections and pointing out to them that we had the freedom to do this and they did not.

The minute they admitted there were imperfections in the system they were no longer a party member, and this was told to me by Communists who defected. The minute they admitted defects they were put out of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Did the young Communists express to you the discipline in their thinking, in their attitudes, in their lives, to which they are subjected within the Communist framework?

Mr. JONES. Yes. I think any of us who really had a chance to talk to a Communist who was Communist because of education realized right away that he was so disciplined that he could not attempt to think in terms of our way of life, so to speak. He could not even listen to this because he knew for himself, or he felt he knew for himself, the final answers to everything, that their system was the final answer. And they were so disciplined that to admit there was something which they had which was wrong, was almost impossible.

Mr. ARENS. Did he arrive at that conclusion on the basis of his own reasoning, his own analysis, or was it a question of conditioning and imposition from the top down?

Mr. JONES. Again, in my way of thinking, I would submit this is condition. These persons reached this condition because of the very rigid indoctrination they receive even from the time of birth to the point where they were there at the festival. I do not really believe—and this again is personal—that this was done on their own, that they analyzed the facts about all systems, about political systems. I would really believe this was done because of the very rigid indoctrination.

Mr. ARENS. We have other items we could pursue with Mr. Jones, but they have been covered by other witnesses, and we are trying to avoid repetition of incidents or subject matter.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions?

Mr. MOULDER. How were you financed on your trip to Vienna?

Mr. JONES. 90 percent of my financing to Vienna came from a loan which I made for myself, which I am paying back now. There was some money, somewhere between \$50 and \$100, which was given to me by a group out of Chicago. Their finances, I think, came from a private concern; specifically, I don't know.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you know how the young man who carried the Stars and Stripes in that parade was chosen? How was he selected to carry them?

Mr. JONES. In keeping with these proceedings, I know he was not elected by the delegation there. He was appointed by some group which we did not have direct access to.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words there was no vote by the American delegation that any particular person should be chosen to carry the Stars and Stripes in the parade?

Mr. JONES. No. In fact, there was a vote against allowing anyone, any one person to purport to represent and speak on behalf of the entire group. We made a statement that no one person can make a statement on behalf of the entire American delegation there, and this particular resolution was signed by some 200 people.

Mr. DOYLE. You took time and had time to analyze, at least briefly, why you felt, from your experience there and elsewhere, that the Communist youth look at things differently than the American youth who is not a Communist. In other words, you stated—and I wrote it down—you felt he knew the final answer to everything because of his rigid indoctrination.

Do you think, in view of that statement by you, that there is a level at which the young people in our country, the United States of America, should be rigidly indoctrinated in what they believe?

Mr. JONES. I don't believe our system lends itself to indoctrination. I think this is a basic right of academic freedom.

I do not feel we should attempt to indoctrinate people by using the same methods that the Soviets use. This would be a negation. But I do feel in some way we have to get across, not only to the American young people, us, but we have to get across to many more Americans, what is going on in international scenes in terms of our system. In fact, I think this is not an option at this point. It is necessary if we are to survive in this whole international struggle.

If I may, I would like to make this final statement:

We found at the festival that it is much easier, much, much easier to be anti-Communist than it is to be a good responsible American. You can point at all the shortcomings of the Communist system, but it is another matter when you get down and begin to attempt to get people to vote and you attempt to understand for yourself what we believe in, and attempt to work in a rational manner within our system.

We found many of the people who went to the festival were not anti-Communists in the sense that we pointed out the stupidity of these people at all costs, but many of us wanted to sit down and discuss in a rational manner the problems in light of our understanding and their understanding. There were many Americans who did this much more effectively, much more effectively than the persons who were going to try, at all points and at all costs, to disrupt the festival in a violent way.

A most important area there was our discussion in reaching these people who were not thoroughly convinced of the Communist system, who had not been thoroughly indoctrinated, and we attempted to present our understanding of freedom and democracy to them. There were many Americans there who did this very effectively.

Mr. DOYLE. You said the minute they admitted there were any imperfections in the Soviet system they were put out of it. Should we in America undertake to educate and train our young people that

the American system is 100 percent perfect like they do in the Soviet educational system?

Mr. JONES. Mr. Doyle, I think this would be almost reaching a point of being ridiculous if we tried to do this. I think our system itself has the freedom, gives each individual the freedom to analyze for himself and come to realize that our system is not perfect in that sense, and also come to realize that the Soviet system is not perfect.

I do feel we have as much indoctrination as possible. We have to stand up in our classrooms and pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States. We are taught, to some extent, what it means to be a citizen of the United States. But this is not the same type of rigid indoctrination, and I do not feel we should attempt to do this.

Our system has its flaws, but who are we to indoctrinate people and say it has not?

Mr. DOYLE. I thank God I am an American citizen, and I want to be free to always believe what I want to believe, and I don't want to be a totalitarian tool, either for my Government or for anybody's.

It seems to me the young people, some of whom are smiling broadly at much of what you have said, even including some Negro people in the room—it just seems to me that the idea of an American youth being desirous or willing to stay in any group where there is totalitarian teaching and thinking, is repugnant.

I want to compliment you on your statement. I think some of this is basic in connection with our study of legislation. It is an approach to the problem, and that is why I have taken the time to question you.

Thank you very much.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I am not sure whether we have on the record in these hearings—and I would be willing to have it repeated—what was the total attendance from the United States at the festival.

Mr. JONES. I don't think anyone really has been able to calculate this. The main reason is, even though there were listed people for the New York and Chicago groups, there were many Americans in Europe for the summer who knew about the festival and whom we managed to get into the activities by various means and who attempted to do the same things we were trying to do. So, to give a figure would not be possible.

In terms of the delegations from New York and Chicago, it was estimated that there were between 250 and 300, something of that nature. It did not reach the quota of 400 which had been given to us by the International Preparatory Committee.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Of this number, is there any way of estimating how many were under Communist control, the percentage of the 250?

Mr. JONES. It would be a very difficult job. I can attempt to do it. I think there were at best—persons under the direct influence or willfully or knowingly allowed themselves to be under the Communist control, less than 10 percent.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jones, we appreciate very much your cooperation. It is indeed fortunate that there were people like you to attend this youth conference; otherwise I am afraid the youths in other sections of the world would have gotten the wrong impression about typical Americans, and we appreciate your cooperation.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Paul Robeson, Jr.

Please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you swear the testimony you are to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Mr. ROBESON. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF PAUL ROBESON, JR., ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
JOSEPH FORER**

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. ROBESON. My name is Paul Robeson, Jr., 408 West 128th Street, New York City; electrical engineer and translator.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing here today in response to a subpoena issued by this committee?

Mr. ROBESON. I am. I would appear no other way.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Will counsel please identify himself.

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer, 711 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Robeson, prior to November 24, 1958, had you made any application or applications for a United States passport?

Mr. ROBESON. Well, I have had a United States passport since, oh, it must have been the early 1930's. I think I went over there as a child, to England as a child; Austria, Switzerland, the Soviet Union, and a great many places. I have traveled a great deal.

I had a passport until mine was taken away from me at the time my father's was revoked, and my passport was kept from me until the year, along in 1958. In fact, when I did apply for a passport, my family wanted to visit my father and mother who were in England at the time. We had applied somewhere in the fall of 1958 to travel, to spend some time with my mother and father in England.

It is an ironic thing that we immediately got passports for our two children, but the State Department notified us they would consider whether or not they would grant us our passports.

Mr. ARENS. Did you then receive a passport in 1958 or shortly thereafter?

Mr. ROBESON. We did, after having to demand it and stating, if not, we would have to go to court to get it.

Mr. ARENS. This period when you received your passport was shortly after the decision of the Supreme Court in the Kent-Briehl case?

Mr. ROBESON. I don't recall.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to lay before you a photostatic reproduction of a passport application and ask you if this is a true and correct reproduction of the application which you filed in 1958 for the passport which you said you received at that time.

Mr. ROBESON. May I confer with counsel?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Certainly.

Mr. ROBESON. This appears to be fully accurate as far as I recognize, yes.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Robeson, I observe here on the second page of this passport application a question, in fact 3 questions:

Are you now a member of the Communist Party? (Write "yes" or "no")
Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party? (Write "yes" or "no")
If ever a member, state period of membership. From _____ to _____.

You will observe in this document, which you have identified as a true and correct reproduction of the original application filed by yourself, that these questions are not answered.

Mr. ROBESON. Blank, blank, blank, yes.

(Document marked "Robeson Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. You did not answer them.

On the date on which you filed this application for a passport, which, according to this document which you have identified, was October 21, 1958, were you on that day a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROBESON. The Supreme Court ruled very clearly before then that the State Department or nobody has any right to ask on a passport application any questions about political associations or being a member of anything. So I was perfectly within my legal rights, and I think it is a disgrace to invade political beliefs on a passport application.

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly answer the question now?

Mr. ROBESON. Would you give them one at a time?

Mr. ARENS. On October 21, 1958, the date on which you filed this passport application, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROBESON. I am going to decline to answer that question on several grounds, and I want to state the grounds.

Mr. ARENS. You are reading now from a prepared statement?

Mr. ROBESON. I have some notes, but I can manage to state my grounds pretty clearly.

So, if I may state them, I think, first of all, that the committee—it is well known the committee violates the rights of free speech and violates the first amendment. It has no right to inquire into people's political beliefs and associations.

The second particular reason why I am going to decline to answer it, especially before this committee, is because it is well known that the committee harasses those who fight for Negro equality, and, contrarily, it shields and gives aid and comfort to segregationists and the people who support the policies of segregationists, and it shows in its use of not only professional informers but self-confessed Nazis and Fascist collaborators.

Furthermore, I think the purpose of the hearings here, the manner in which they are being conducted and the history of the committee, shows that it is the committee that is attempting to poison the minds of young people with the ideology of McCarthyism. And I think the manner in which the committee got its appropriations here by sneaking—

Mr. SCHERER. I suggest regular order.

Mr. ROBESON. It is a gross misuse of taxpayers' money, and this committee is one of the instruments being used by segregationists to undermine and prevent the enforcement of civil rights of Negroes;

and, therefore, as a Negro who advocates the immediate enforcement of these rights, I feel it is necessary to invoke the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments in refusing to answer questions of the committee, and I want to assert the provisions of the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. I was sure you were going to get to the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Robeson, a couple of days ago there was a young man who testified that he was a member of the Communist Party and that he participated in the youth activities of the Communist Party. He was a member of the Negro race, a very fine young man. He testified about the fraud of the Communist Party, attempting to use the issues of the Negro people to further their conspiratorial apparatus.

In the course of his testimony while he was under oath—and if he lied to this committee, he will be subject to perjury prosecution—he testified that while he was a member of the Communist Party, up until just a few months ago, he knew you as a member of the Communist Party. That is a conspiratorial apparatus that mowed down the freedom fighters and has created havoc over the world.

We would like to give you now, while you are under oath, an opportunity to deny that testimony, an opportunity while you are under oath to expose this man Gaillard if he lied to us, an opportunity to put squarely on the record testimony by yourself, while you are under oath, that will show, if you think so, that he was a paid informer and that he misrepresented and he falsified.

Do you care now to avail yourself of the opportunity to deny the validity and truth of the testimony of Albert Gaillard that he knew you as a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBESON. The committee seems to be expert in speaking for these Negroes and about Negroes. I think you should let any Negro speak for himself. You keep talking about how nice this one is or that one is.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I request that the witness be directed to answer the question.

Mr. ROBESON. I do not care to answer something about this.

The CHAIRMAN. We can understand that, of course, but just answer the question.

Mr. ROBESON. He asked me if I cared to answer the question, and I do not care to answer it.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that. It goes without saying.

Mr. ARENS. We just wanted to give you an opportunity to answer the question.

Just a few minutes ago there was a young man who swore before this committee that he heard you address the Sixth World Youth Festival in Vienna.

Mr. ROBESON. Would you repeat that?

Mr. ARENS. A young man who was under oath a few minutes ago said he heard you address the Sixth World Youth Festival—the Seventh World Youth Festival in Vienna.

Mr. ROBESON. My understanding was that the festival was something where thousands of young people got together to discuss—

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question.

Mr. ROBESON. —and I think it is a disgrace; you are trying to cover up the fact that the United States went to subvert the festival like this.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question. After he has had sufficient time, proceed to the next question.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question.

Mr. ROBESON. I am directed to answer the question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. ROBESON. I refuse to answer the question on the same grounds as before and on the additional grounds that this hearing has been organized, not only to discredit the festival, but to talk about so-called Communist domination and what-not of the festival, when it is public knowledge all over the press of the United States that the purpose of many Americans in high places, in Vienna and in the United States—and it is to the credit of American youth from various public reports that evidently few, nevertheless, but one organized basis—I have many clippings here—went to disrupt the festival. I heard Mr. Jones say exactly that.

The CHAIRMAN. I misunderstood him.

Mr. ROBESON. I think it is disgraceful to go for the purpose of disrupting violently—

The CHAIRMAN. I certainly hope you are not presuming to speak for American youth.

Mr. ROBESON. I am speaking for myself.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right, and only yourself.

Mr. ROBESON. It is the committee that presumes to speak for me and other Negroes, since you never do anything about civil rights.

The CHAIRMAN. I know a lot of Negroes who resent that.

Mr. ROBESON. I would be glad to quote—

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Did you presume to speak for American youth at the Seventh World Festival?

Mr. ROBESON. I just got finished saying I don't presume to speak for anybody except myself.

Mr. ARENS. Did you presume to speak for the young Americans who were at the Youth Festival?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBESON. It is obviously a loaded question, Mr. Arens, and I don't think—I am not going to attempt to give a loaded answer, and decline—

The CHAIRMAN. Ask another question, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Did you address a group at the Sixth World Youth Festival and speak on behalf of the Americans who were in attendance there?

Mr. ROBESON. You said the Sixth?

Mr. ARENS. The Seventh.

Mr. ROBESON. Would you describe that so I can understand which one you are talking about? Was it the one in Moscow at which I understand, from the public reports on that festival, that there were American delegates in Moscow at that festival in large number and of all kinds of political views, perhaps as many political views and sharper, or differences as sharp as supposedly at the Seventh World Festival, and, yet, things went off very well?

I think one of the reasons, evidently the atmosphere in Moscow and the Soviet press did not set up a hostile atmosphere, as was generated particularly by certain parts of America, and I will come to that in a moment, which in that hostile atmosphere which evidently attempted to make this thing in Vienna a cold-war battlefield. Of course, in that atmosphere, the political differences that existed, I imagine, in many delegations—but in that atmosphere, and Mr. Jones pointed out the things which went far beyond argument and attempted to disrupt things, and I think it shows the Sixth Festival, the reports from that show clearly that in an atmosphere where the situation is getting into a cold-war battleground and an either-or proposition and people can sit down and talk, no matter how many political differences or shading of political views—however you want to put it—exist in the delegation, in the American delegation, that they can work out their problems and participate in the festival, and the arguments they have can be worked out when they get back to America.

Mr. ARENS. Now will you kindly answer the question? Did you address the Seventh Youth Festival in Vienna on behalf of the Americans who were present?

Mr. ROBESON. You just asked me that question.

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly answer it, please?

Mr. ROBESON. I decline on the same grounds because—

Mr. ARENS. When you made your passport application and filed it with the Department of State in October of 1958, were you then planning on going to the Seventh World Festival in Vienna?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBESON. I refuse to answer on the same grounds as previously because it is a loaded question. If you want to ask me loaded questions, I am perfectly willing to say I decline.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you declining to answer questions?

Ask another question, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. In the passport application which you filed, you list here the purpose of the trip and the countries to be visited. You tell the State Department under oath—or at least with your signature, I presume under oath—the purpose of your trip, for which you seek a United States passport, is to visit your family, and a vacation, and the country to be visited was England. That is true, is it not?

Mr. ROBESON. What is true? What is on the application is obviously true, because I said it.

Mr. ARENS. Why didn't you tell the State Department when you filed this application that you intended to go to Vienna to the Seventh World Youth Festival?

Mr. ROBESON. I will consult with counsel.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBESON. Again it is a loaded question because I never said at the time I filed anything on there than is on that application. So I don't see what the purpose of it is.

Mr. ARENS. Did you tell the State Department the truth in this application when you told them you intended to only visit your family and vacation and to only go to England?

Mr. ROBESON. Would you repeat the two halves of the question? Repeat it in two halves; first, whether I told the truth.

(The pending question was read by the reporter.)

Mr. ROBESON. The question is a loaded one and it does not say at all—

Mr. ARENS. I suggest this record reflect an order that the witness be directed to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. Ask another question.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this instant, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROBESON. I refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. I have no other questions of this witness.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Alan McGowan. Please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sure that some of you did not hear the warning that the Chair issued some time ago about demonstrations. It is indeed unfortunate that the American people cannot see the performance that is going on here today.

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Mr. MCGOWAN. I do so affirm.

TESTIMONY OF ALAN HUGH MCGOWAN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LAWRENCE SPEISER

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. MCGOWAN. I am Alan Hugh McGowan, 225 East 70th Street in New York City, and at present I am a student.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. MCGOWAN. I am.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. MCGOWAN. I am.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, will you kindly identify yourself on this record?

Mr. SPEISER. Lawrence Speiser. And I am director of the Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union. My address is 1612 I Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you engaged as a student?

Mr. MCGOWAN. At Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute.

Mr. ARENS. Give us your age, please.

Mr. MCGOWAN. I am 24 years old.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever applied for a United States passport? (The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. MCGOWAN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. How many times have you applied for a United States passport?

Mr. MCGOWAN. Once for a passport and once for a renewal.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a photostatic reproduction of a passport application bearing the signature of yourself, Alan Hugh McGowan, and ask you if this is a true and correct reproduction of the passport application. And I lay before you now a photostatic

reproduction of a renewal application, and ask you if it is a true and correct copy of the renewal filed by yourself.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. McGOWAN. This appears to be a correct copy.

(Documents marked "McGowan Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I invite your attention, Mr. McGowan, to page 2 of this passport application on which appear two questions:

Question No. 1: Are you now a member of the Communist Party? (Answer "yes" or "no")

And the answer appears in there, "No."

Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party? (Answer "yes" or "no")

And the answer in there appears, "No."

Did you put those answers there to those questions, the two "No" answers?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. McGOWAN. I object to that question because it violates my rights of free speech and association which is guaranteed to me in the first amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. You are reading now from a prepared statement?

Mr. McGOWAN. I have some statements here, yes.

Mr. ARENS. Go ahead.

Mr. McGOWAN. This committee violates the rights of all people called before it. This committee only seeks to channel thoughts. It has no right to inquire into my, or any other person's, political beliefs or associations.

Secondly, I object to the question because there can be no valid, legislative purpose in asking the question. The question, like so many asked by this committee, is only asked to try to expose me and countless other Americans to public disgrace, and is asked only for the sake of exposure.

I feel, lastly, that I object to the question on the grounds that the United States Constitution holds that I cannot be compelled to be a witness against myself.

Mr. ARENS. This witness, I submit to the Chair, has waived his grounds for objection, for the reason that I displayed to him a photostatic reproduction of his application, and he testified that it is true and correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer the question.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. McGOWAN. I continue to object to this question, and I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Were you at the very instant you wrote "No" on this application a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. McGOWAN. This is the same question, and it will get the same response: I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend if you told this committee truthfully whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party the very instant you wrote the word "No" in your passport application, in response to a question concerning your Communist Party membership, you would be supplying information that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. McGOWAN. Mr. Arens, I objected to the question, and I stated my grounds. The grounds still hold, and I decline to answer the question under those same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Arens, was that application this witness made for a passport, under oath?

Mr. ARENS. There is an affidavit attesting to the truth, which he signed. Whether or not he actually submitted himself to an oath I could not say, but there is an affidavit.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Did you receive a United States passport pursuant to the application which we have displayed to you?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. McGOWAN. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend if you told this committee truthfully, while you are under oath, whether you received a United States passport pursuant to this application you would be furnishing information that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. McGOWAN. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Did you attend the Seventh World Youth Festival at Vienna?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. McGOWAN. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated, and I would like to say that I will decline to answer all questions that are of the same character.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to display to you now certain photographs which have been identified, taken at the Vienna festival, with yourself in attendance, and kindly tell this committee whether they are true and correct photographs of your physical features as they were taken in Vienna.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. McGOWAN. This is, in effect, the same question, and I decline to answer for the same reasons I stated before.

(Documents marked "McGowan Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. McGowan, a young man yesterday, by the name of—

The CHAIRMAN. Before you go into that, I am going to direct you to answer the question of whether or not you attended this conference.

Mr. McGOWAN. I am directed to answer the question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. McGOWAN. I decline to answer the question on the grounds I previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you honestly believe if you would answer the question as to whether or not you attended this meeting, this youth conference, you might be subjected to a criminal prosecution?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. McGOWAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What was criminal about this youth conference?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. McGOWAN. I am here with an attorney, and I am not empowered to argue the legal question, but the answer is yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Your lawyer told you, you might be prosecuted criminally because you went to Vienna to the youth conference?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. MCGOWAN. The answer is yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. McGowan, yesterday a gentleman testified, a fine young American who attended this festival. He testified, in part, from notes he had made while he attended the festival. Among other things from his notes, he testified under oath yesterday that a known, identified international Communist agent stated to him, "I personally gave the order to McGowan"—that's you, sir—"to break up the meeting and walk out."

Did an international Communist agent by the name of Max Schneider give you in Vienna, Austria, orders to break up the meeting of the young Americans who were in attendance in Vienna last summer?

Mr. MCGOWAN. Mr. Arens, I have stated that I will refuse to answer questions that are of the same character. This question, I think, is of the same character, and I therefore object to the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. He says he objects to the question.

Are you refusing to answer on the basis of your rights under the fifth amendment?

Mr. MCGOWAN. I am objecting to the questions on the grounds previously stated, and I refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Does that include the invocation of the fifth amendment?

Mr. MCGOWAN. Yes, it does.

Mr. ARENS. Your predecessor to the witness stand, who likewise has been identified as a member of the Communist Party, testified against the disruptive procedures at the Vienna festival. Did you participate in disruptive practices which were under Communist orders?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. MCGOWAN. That is a compound question, and I decline to answer it because it is of the same character as the questions before.

The CHAIRMAN. And for the same reasons?

Mr. MCGOWAN. And for the same reasons.

Mr. ARENS. Albert Gaillard testified before this committee, a day or so ago, that he served as head of one part of that apparatus in New York City up until a few months ago. He said that while he was a member of the Communist Party—while he was under oath he said this—he knew you as a member of the Communist Party.

Was he telling the truth or was he in error?

Mr. MCGOWAN. Mr. Arens, that is just another way of asking the same question and it is of exactly the same character, and I refuse to answer under the same grounds previously given.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this instant, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MCGOWAN. Mr. Arens, that is the same question, and the same response. I refuse to answer under the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest that would conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused.

Call the next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Joanne Alileen Grant.

Mr. DOYLE. I wish to say that I noticed that that handclapping comes from the first two rows of about 18 people, and it just seems to me that you young people should have lived in the United States long enough to be respectful when there is a public meeting on and to comply with an orderly conduct of the meeting.

I cannot help but say I am greatly disappointed in seeing that there are about 18 or 20 young people on the first two rows who apparently deliberately are violating the orderly process of this meeting. I am ashamed to find that there are that many in the audience of about 250.

It seems to me that you ought to at least respect the orderly conduct of this meeting, whether you are Communists or not.

I notice a lot of you are grinning at what I am saying. I am just ashamed of you; that's all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doyle, my emotions are just the opposite. I feel very proud of the fact that only a handful of this vast crowd have apparently put the stamp of approval on the testimony of these obvious witnesses.

Will you stand up and raise your right hand, please.

Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Miss GRANT. I do so affirm.

TESTIMONY OF JOANNE ALILEEN GRANT, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LAWRENCE SPEISER

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Miss GRANT. My name is Joanne Grant. I live at 410 Central Park West in New York City. I am a secretary.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed, please?

Miss GRANT. I work for the delegation of India to the United Nations.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been so employed?

Miss GRANT. Since September.

Mr. ARENS. Would you repeat your answer?

Miss GRANT. I work for the delegation of India to the United Nations.

Mr. ARENS. Where is your place of employment? In the United Nations Building?

Miss GRANT. 3 East 46th Street. It is the mission headquarters.

Mr. ARENS. You have been employed there how long?

Miss GRANT. Since September.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Miss GRANT. Yes, I am.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Miss GRANT. Yes, I am.

Mr. ARENS. Will counsel please identify himself?

Mr. SPEISER. Lawrence Speiser. I previously identified myself in the record.

Mr. ARENS. Were you the executive secretary of the United States Festival Committee located at 246 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York?

Miss GRANT. I am going to refuse to answer that question and I would like to state my reasons.

Mr. ARENS. You are reading from a prepared statement?

Miss GRANT. I am going to decline to answer that question because, first, I feel the committee is not questioning me for any proper legislative purpose, but merely for the purpose of exposing me to public disgrace and for the mere sake of public exposure.

Secondly, I object on the grounds that it is in violation of the first amendment under the Constitution. I feel no committee of Congress has a right to inquire into my personal beliefs or associations.

Thirdly, I feel that this committee's questioning deprives me of due process of law in not permitting me or my attorney to cross-examine my accusers, and it is depriving me of other procedural rights I have under the due process law of the fifth amendment.

Fourth, I object to the question on the ground that the United States Constitution holds that I cannot be compelled to testify against myself.

When and if any such further questions are asked and I say I decline to answer for reasons already stated, I refer to these reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you use the fifth amendment?

Miss GRANT. Yes, I did.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to lay before you now two or three documents. The first is a thermofax of a letterhead of the United States Festival Committee with the date, May 6, 1959, bearing the signatures "Marvin Markman, Chairman," and "Joanne Grant, Executive Secretary."

Kindly look at that document and tell us if it is a true and correct reproduction of your signature in that capacity as executive secretary of this festival committee.

Miss GRANT. How can I identify it? There is nothing on it except two figures.

Mr. ARENS. Is that your signature?

Miss GRANT. I can't say. I refuse to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Were you the executive secretary of the U.S. Festival Committee in New York?

Miss GRANT. I just refused to answer that question.

(Document marked "Grant Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I should like to call your attention, if you please, to an article appearing in the CALL, a publication of July, 1959, an article by Walter K. Lewis, who—and I will summarize the article—tells about the use of the Soviet dancers, the Beryozka dancers, here in the United States at fund-raising affairs to raise funds for the delegation which went to the festival in Vienna.

Can you give us firsthand information from your own knowledge respecting the fund-raising affairs participated in by the Soviet dancers on American soil to raise funds to send people to the Vienna festival?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss GRANT. I refuse to answer this question on the basis of the reasons already stated.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to read you one or two sentences which we think are very important in this article:

Joanne Grant admitted that Nocolai Burov, Secretary of the Soviet U.N. Mission, aided in getting the dancers and that he also attended another fund-raising event sponsored by the U.S. Festival Committee.

Did you so state as recounted in this article which I have just read to you?

Miss GRANT. You are just repeating the same question that you asked me, and I refuse to answer it.

Mr. ARENS. Let's be sure the record is clear on this:

Joanne Grant admitted that Nocolai Burov, Secretary of the Soviet U.N. Mission, aided in getting the dancers and that he also attended another fund-raising event sponsored by the U.S. Festival Committee.

Is that a truthful quotation of your statement?

Miss GRANT. This question fits one of my reasons for objecting to the questioning of this committee very nicely.

You are talking about someone who wrote an article in something called CALL, Walter Lewis. He is not here, and my lawyer and myself are not able to cross-examine. He is accusing me of something. I refuse to answer on this ground and all the other grounds I previously stated.

(Document marked "Grant Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you know anything of Nocolai Burov?

Miss GRANT. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Did you participate with him in fund-raising events to raise money for the United States Festival Committee.

Miss GRANT. I refuse to answer that question on ground previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Did you attend the Seventh World Youth Festival at Vienna?

Miss GRANT. No, I did not.

Mr. ARENS. Were you able to get a passport to attend?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss GRANT. I did not apply for a passport.

Mr. ARENS. Did you attend the Sixth World Youth Festival in Moscow?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss GRANT. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, after you attended the Sixth World Festival in Moscow, go to Red China?

Miss GRANT. I refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. In the course of the last several days have you participated in a Youth Against the House Un-American Activities Committee organization?

Miss GRANT. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now an original letter signed by yourself, "Joanne Grant, Member of Youth Against the House Un-American Activities Committee," dated January 28, 1960, which has been

sent far and wide. I should like to read it to you and ask you if this is a true reproduction, if this is the original signed by yourself:

GENTLEMEN: A group of young people has been subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee on February 2-5. The only link between these individuals is that they have at one time or another participated in a World Youth Festival.

We believe that this attack on the youth of our country who have vigorously worked for international peace, understanding, and cultural exchange is in direct contradiction to President Eisenhower's peaceful exchange program.

We would appreciate it if your organization would send an observer to the hearings on February 2-5, in Room 226, Old House Office Building, so that he may be able to report on the operations of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Is that your signature which I have just displayed to you?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss GRANT. This is not my signature.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a member of this group?

Miss GRANT. I refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Did you authorize your signature to be affixed there by some other person?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. What were you reading from, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. A letter bearing the signature of Joanne Grant.

Miss GRANT. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Grant Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SCHERER. Miss Grant, are you a member of this organization, Youth Against the House Un-American Activities Committee?

Miss GRANT. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated. I have declined to answer that question already.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't it a fact that the address of this committee is Room 201, 421 Seventh Avenue, New York City?

Miss GRANT. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you not last Sunday night, January 31, at 8:00 p.m., attend a rally of this organization at the Fraternal Club House in New York City?

Miss GRANT. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know Mr. Clark Foreman, the director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee?

Miss GRANT. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. You were there, and isn't it a fact that Mr. Clark Foreman was the master of ceremonies for that meeting?

Miss GRANT. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know Pete Seeger?

Miss GRANT. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Was Pete Seeger—

Miss GRANT. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know Mrs. Dorothy Marshall?

Miss GRANT. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't it a fact that Mrs. Marshall was there?

Miss GRANT. Why is it you keep asking me to talk about other people? I refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. I will ask you, were you there?

Miss GRANT. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Otto Nathan of this group was there, was he not?

MISS GRANT. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

MR. SCHERER. Didn't all of these people address this rally?

MISS GRANT. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

MR. SCHERER. Isn't it a fact that the headquarters of Youth Against the House Un-American Activities Committee is in Room 201, 421 Seventh Avenue, New York City?

MISS GRANT. You just asked me that question.

MR. SCHERER. I am going to follow up with another question.

Isn't that the same room which is the headquarters and office of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee?

MISS GRANT. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

MR. SCHERER. Isn't that also Mr. Clark Foreman's office as director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee?

MISS GRANT. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

MR. SCHERER. You have seen Mr. Clark Foreman here during the hearings, have you not?

MISS GRANT. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

MR. SCHERER. Mrs. Dorothy Marshall, from California, has been here also, has she not?

MISS GRANT. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

MR. SCHERER. Are any of the people I mentioned under 40 years of age?

MISS GRANT. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

MR. DOYLE. Mr. Foreman was here in the front row all day yesterday, which he had a perfect right to be.

MR. ARENS. Miss Grant, a day or so ago Albert Gaillard testified before this committee that he had, until just a few months ago, been in the Communist Party, in the youth section of it in Harlem, as president. He said while he was in this Harlem youth section of the Communist Party he served in closed Communist cell meetings with hard-core members of the Communist Party. Among those persons whom he identified on this record under oath as persons known by him to a certainty to be members of the Communist Party was yourself, Joanne Grant.

Would you care to avail yourself of the opportunity to deny the validity of that testimony?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

MISS GRANT. No; I do not care to.

MR. ARENS. Are you now, this instant, a member of the Communist Party?

MISS GRANT. I refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated.

MR. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

(Witness excused.)

MR. SCHERER. In connection with the questions I asked this witness, I would like to offer in evidence a press release from the Youth Against the House Un-American Activities Committee, Room 201, 421 Seventh Avenue, New York City. This was released to the press on Thursday, January 28, 1960. (For document marked "Grant Exhibit No. 4a," see pp. 1476 and 1477.)

On December 28, 1959, I received a letter from the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee signed by Clark Foreman, its director. I ask that there be introduced in this record the letterhead of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. I am introducing this letterhead solely for

the purpose of showing that the address of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is the same as that of the organization, Youth Against the House Un-American Activities Committee. (For document marked "Grant Exhibit No. 4b," see p. 1478.)

I wish further to state that the investigators of our committee have visited the headquarters of Youth Against the House Un-American Activities Committee at 421 Seventh Avenue, New York City, and find that they occupy the same rooms and use the same staff as the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and that the telephone number listed on the press release of this so-called youth organization is one of the telephones of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee at 421 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. These documents will be made a part of the record and marked "Grant Exhibits Nos. 4a and 4b," respectively.

GRANT EXHIBIT No. 4a

[News from Youth Against the House Un-American Activities Committee, Room 201, 421 Seventh Avenue, New York, OX 5-2698, for release Thursday, January 28]

SUBPOENAED YOUTHS HAVE 'NO INTENTION' OF COOPERATING WITH HOUSE INVESTIGATORS: PLAN BUSES FOR PROTEST IN WASHINGTON

Five New York youths, subpoenaed to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities during hearings in Washington into youth activities February 2 to 5, have described the hearings as an "attack on the spirit of Camp David" and an attempt "to discredit youth exchange and international understanding."

The five youth, all of whom have participated in one or another of various international youth festivals in the past six years, have announced that they "have no intention, whatsoever of cooperating with the Committee in its attempt to smear all those who want a peaceful world."

The five are: *Joanne Grant*, 29, 410 Central Park West, New York City; *Fred Jerome*, 20, 320 Second Avenue, New York City; *Alan McGowan*, 24, 225 East 70 St., New York City; *Paul Robeson, Jr.*, 32, 408 West 128th St., New York City; and *Jacob Rosen*, 21, 636 West 174th St., New York City.

All five of the subpoenaed youths will appear before the committee with counsel which will be supplied by the American Civil Liberties Union.

YOUTH AGAINST THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE, a group set up to oppose the hearings, has announced that it will sponsor buses leaving New York Thursday morning, January 28, at 6 a.m. (from Times Square) to carry an estimated 100 youths to Washington to protest the hearings in visits to Congressmen.

The youth committee will also sponsor buses next Wednesday, Feb. 3, for youths to observe the hearings.

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED AMERICAN YOUTHS, HAVE PARTICIPATED IN ONE OR ANOTHER WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL OVER THE PAST SIX YEARS; TOGETHER WITH TENS OF THOUSANDS OF YOUNG PEOPLE FROM ALL NATIONS IN THE WORLD, MEETING TO EXCHANGE IDEAS AND CULTURES, AND TO MAKE FRIENDS.

LAST WEEK WE WERE SUBPOENAED BY THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES FOR HEARINGS IN WASHINGTON D.C. ON FEBRUARY 2 TO 5 DESIGNED TO DISCREDIT YOUTH EXCHANGE AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING. WE CONSIDER THESE HEARINGS AN ATTACK ON THE SPIRIT OF CAMP DAVID WHICH IS SPREADING THROUGH THE WORLD TODAY. WE BELIEVE THE WALTER'S COMMITTEE WOULD, IF IT COULD, SUBPOENA PRESIDENT EISENHOWER TO PREVENT HIM FROM GOING TO THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE AND THE SOVIET UNION THIS SPRING.

WE OPPOSE THE UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE AS UNCONSTITUTIONAL IN ITS VERY FRAMEWORK, OPERATING TO REESTABLISH THE INQUISITIONAL SYSTEM OF GUILT BY ACCUSATION.

WE HAVE NO INTENTION WHATSOEVER OF COOPERATING WITH THE COMMITTEE IN ITS ATTEMPT TO SMEAR ALL THOSE WHO WANT A PEACEFUL WORLD.

JOANNE GRANT, 410 Central Park West, N.Y., 29, Bachelor of Arts in journalism and political science, 1951, Syracuse University; graduate studies, New York University; Public Relations writer; former president of National Women's Professional Journalism Council; attended Moscow Youth Festival; executive secretary of U.S. Festival Committee.

FRED JEROME, 320 Second Avenue, N.Y., 20, graduated this year cum laude from City College of New York; BA in English; member Phi Beta Kappa; former news editor of college newspaper; student council representative to National Student Conference; attended 1955 Warsaw Youth Festival.

AL MCGOWAN, 225 East 70 Street, N.Y., 24, graduate engineer from Yale University; leading member of the Yale Players; member of steering committee of the American delegation at Vienna Youth Festival.

JACOB ROSEN, 636 West 174 Street, N.Y., 21, senior studying history at the City College of New York; representative of Student Council to National Students Association; head of International Agency of Student Government; attended Moscow World Youth Festival.

PAUL ROBESON, Jr., 408 West 128 Street, N.Y., 32, graduated with honors from Cornell University; Bachelor of Science in Electrical Engineering; electronics engineer; translator-editor; member Tau Beta Phi, national engineers honorary society and Electrical Engineers honor society; attended 1959 Vienna Youth Festival.

Room 201, 421 Seventh Avenue, New York. OXFord 5-2698.

MR. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a few observations at this point.

In these hearings we have seen how the Communist apparatus has exploited youth; how one of its objectives is to control and dominate various youth organizations. The evidence is clear that the World Youth Festival in Vienna last year was dominated lock, stock, and barrel by the Communist apparatus. One of the significant things was the fact that youth leaders of many of the delegations were hardcore Communists between the tender ages of 40 years and 60.

Since these hearings were scheduled by the Committee on Un-American Activities, the Communist apparatus and some people who should know better have been crying crocodile tears about this investigation. I think that the evidence adduced would indicate to any unbiased persons that these hearings were more than needed and that the basis for the attack upon the committee from some quarters was wholly unwarranted.

It is significant that the exploitation of youth was continued during these hearings. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which two congressional committees have found to be Communist dominated and controlled, has, as it has done so many times in the past, injected itself into these hearings.

We must remember that the principal objective of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is to bring about the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and to discredit its members. Its second objective is to curb and weaken the Federal Bureau of Investigation and discredit its great Director, J. Edgar Hoover. Its third and most sinister role is to bring about the repeal of the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act, the Communist Control Act of 1954, and other legislation that enables this Government to deal with the forces which would destroy this Nation from within.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, chairmanned by an identified Communist now under indictment, has sent its paid agents into cities where the Committee on Un-American Activities has held

GRANT EXHIBIT No. 4b

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

421 SEVENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 1, N. Y. • OXFORD 5-2863

December 28, 1959

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Chairman

CORLISS LAMONT

Vice-Chairman

DR. SAMUEL GRUBIN

Treasurer

JOHN SCUDDER

Secretary

LEONARD B. BOUDIN

General Counsel

CLARK FOREMAN

Director

MRS. EDITH TIGER

Asst. Director

NATIONAL COUNCIL

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 J. Raymond Walsh, N. Y.
 Palmer Weber, N. Y.
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 Dr. Abraham Baecher, N. Y.
 Mrs. Walter Boyden, Mass.
 Rev. John W. Bradbury, N. Y.
 Mrs. Anna Braden, Ky.
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 Homer C. Clay, Md.
 Prof. Robert S. Cohen, Mass.
 Prof. Edward U. Condon, Mo.
 Ernest Delglath, Pa.
 Hon. Hubert T. Delany, N. Y.
 Carl B. Dickerson, Ill.
 Prof. Dorothy W. Douglas, Pa.
 Benjamin Dreyfus, Calif.
 Ur. Robert Ellis, Ore.
 Prof. Thomas J. Emerson, Conn.
 Dr. Maryna Farham, N. Y.
 Laurent B. Frantz, Calif.
 Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Calif.
 Daniel S. Gillmor, N. Y.
 Joshua W. Gitt, Pa.
 Prof. Hervey Goldberg, Ohio
 Rabbi Robert E. Goldberg, Conn.
 Prof. David Heber, N. Y.
 Prof. Fowler Harper, Conn.
 John N. M. Howells, Mass.
 Leo Huberman, N. Y.
 Mrs. Edne Ruth Johnson, Fla.
 Prof. Erich Kahler, N. J.
 Robert Kenny, Calif.
 Mrs. Rockwell Kent, N. Y.
 Ignacio L. Lopez, Calif.
 Conrad J. Lynn, N. Y.
 Prof. Curtis D. MacDougall, Ill.
 Mrs. Dorothy Marshall, Calif.
 Carey McWilliams, N. Y.
 Prof. Clyde Miller, N. Y.
 Max R. Millman, Pa.
 Prof. Broadus Mitchell, N. J.
 Mrs. Aline Austin Mulson, N. Y.
 Prof. Helen U. Phillips, Pa.
 Victor Rabinowitz, N. Y.
 Henry I. Rend, D. C.
 David Rein, D. C.
 Richard L. Ritman, Ill.
 Prof. Arnold Rogow, Pa.
 Robert Rosenwald, N. Y.
 Rev. Guy Emary Shipley, N. Y.
 Mrs. A. W. Simkins, S. C.
 Bernard J. Somers, N. Y.
 Edgar Stillman, Jr., N. Y.
 Mrs. Nancy P. Straus, D. C.
 Fisher Ware Straus, Md.
 Paul Sweeney, N. H.
 Rev. John R. Thompson, Tenn.
 Miss Olive Van Horn, N. Y.
 Rev. Arthur E. Wainstay, N. Y.
 David Wesley, Pa.
 Frank Wilkinson, Calif.
 Henry Willcox, Conn.
 Prof. William A. Williams, Wis
 Prof. H. H. Wilson, N. J.
 Prof. Francis D. Wormuth, Utah
 Milton Zaslav, Calif.

hearings. Its purpose in so doing has been to stir up opposition and hatred against this committee by the use of typical, well-known Communist techniques.

As soon as these current hearings were announced, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee again got busy. There suddenly sprang up an organization called "Youth Against the House Un-American Activities Committee." I shouldn't say "sprang up," because this is no more a youth-sponsored organization than were some of the delegations to the World Youth Festival in Vienna, which has been the subject of testimony.

This synthetic organization was created by this Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, whose principal objective is to destroy the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

I have here before me a news release from this so-called "Youth Against the House Un-American Activities Committee." This press release on its face shows that the headquarters for this youth organization is Room 201, 421 Seventh Avenue, New York; that its telephone number is OX 5-2698. Believe it or not, the headquarters and executive office of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is also Room 201, 421 Seventh Avenue, New York City. The telephone number OX 5-2698 has been checked with the telephone company in New York. This is one of the two telephone numbers listed in the name of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in Room 201, 421 Seventh Avenue, New York. This press release is entitled:

Subpoenaed Youths Have 'No Intention' of Cooperating
with House Investigators: Plan Busses for Protest in
Washington,

It is dated for release January 28, 1960. The content of this release has the same telltale characteristics as the many other releases issued by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee at other hearings of the Un-American Activities Committee throughout the United States.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee's executive director, Clark Foreman, has come from New York. He has been in the hearing room with this group who supposedly share his office and telephone. Here we have another example of a youth group organized, led, and exploited by a 50-year-old youngster who runs the Communist-controlled and dominated Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Here again we have an example of the most vicious type of fraud and deceit—an attempt to lead the people of this country to believe that youth has organized against the Committee on Un-American Activities.

On Sunday night, January 31, at 8 P.M. a rally was held by this group called "Youth Against the House Un-American Activities Committee" in the Fraternal Club House at 110 West 48th Street, New York City.

Who do you think was master of ceremonies of this youth meeting? None other than Clark Foreman, who urged those that had been subpoenaed to defy this committee. He told those present that "example is a powerful weapon." He pointed out that recently at hearings of the Un-American Activities Committee in San Juan, a Puerto Rican informer changed his mind about testifying because other witnesses refused to do so.

Foreman lavishly praised Harvey O'Connor, the chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, who is an identified Communist and presently under indictment.

Pete Seeger, an identified Communist who refused to answer questions of this committee about his membership in the Communist Party, a man who has entertained for Communist causes over the years and certainly can no longer be classified as a youth under any circumstances, lent his talents to the evening.

Dorothy Marshall, who is head of the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms, an organization cited as a Communist-front, who has been bombarding members of this House with propaganda against the Committee on Un-American Activities, was present and spoke. She has a long record over the years of service to Communist-front organizations. In fact, the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms is an adjunct of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Mrs. Marshall addressed the rally and stated that a Member of the Congress was going to make a speech in a couple of weeks on the floor of the House against the Un-American Activities Committee. Mrs. Marshall is certainly well beyond that age where she can be classified as youthful. She has been here in the hearing room, shepherding those young people who have been induced to come here.

Dr. Otto Nathan, another person who refused to answer questions of this committee about his membership in the Communist Party, a man well up in years, also spoke at this rally and described the glory of defying this committee.

Rev. Lee Ball read a letter from Dr. Willard Uphaus which had been sent from jail, where he is serving time for contempt.

In view of this record and what I have just said, I am wondering if those news media which attacked the committee for conducting this hearing will now have the decency and courage to admit their mistake in prejudging the purpose and objectives of this hearing, and will so advise the American people, some of whom may have been misled by some of the reports and editorials that were written.

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness will be Julius Szentendrey.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JULIUS SZENTENDREY

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. SZENTENDREY. My name is Julius Szentendrey. I am secretary general of the Association of Hungarian Students in North America. I live in New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. I was born in Budapest, Hungary.

Mr. ARENS. You were born where?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. In Budapest, Hungary, in 1935.

Mr. ARENS. Give us just a word about your education.

Mr. SZENTENDREY. I attended the law school of the University of Budapest from 1953 to 1956. Then I left Hungary after the Hungarian revolt was crushed by the Soviet forces. I then came to the United States. I went to the School of Sciences at Harvard, and I studied the Arabic language.

Mr. ARENS. I expect in a little while to refer to your experiences while living under a Communist regime, so that some of these students here and others can get a true account of life in a country under Communist domination. I should like to ask you, however, first of all, did you attend the Seventh World Youth Festival held in Vienna, Austria, this past summer?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. Yes, I did.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you leave Hungary?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. I left Hungary on December 7, 1956.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you cross over? At Fohnsdorf?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. No. I crossed at a Hungarian town called Szombathely. It is close to Fohnsdorf.

Mr. ARENS. Did you attend the Youth Festival in Vienna this past summer?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. Yes, I did.

Mr. ARENS. What was your interest in the festival, and why did you want to attend the festival?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. I wanted to attend the festival because I have seen communism in action, and I wanted to see how it affects other people who have not seen it, and I thought it might be of some help by sharing my experiences with others, so that other naive people who came from the so-called non-Communist nations and did not have any firsthand experience with Soviet tactics could really be enlightened.

Mr. ARENS. Give us just the highlights of your experience, please.

Mr. SZENTENDREY. The festival, according to my estimate, did not work out quite as the festival organizers had planned to have it work out.

I can answer, first, as to the fact that it was held in Vienna—for the first time not behind the Iron Curtain. The population was not controlled by police forces, and there was more possibility for people to go from organizations that weren't Communist or who were objective toward the issues. And also I can attest to the behavior of the festival guards, who were Austrian.

Mr. ARENS. Were the young people in the festival who were Communists permitted by the hierarchy of the Communist tyranny to mingle freely with a person, such as yourself, who knew communism in action, as in contrast to its deceitful presentation?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. No. The delegates lived in the fairground, but the delegates from Eastern Europe, the so-called people's democracy, for instance, the Hungarian delegation lived on two ships. No one was permitted to enter the ships unless by permission of the head of the delegation. The Hungarians and the other East European delegations always went sightseeing supervised by their leaders and by so-called tourists who came to Vienna as tourists. But later we learned many of them were members of political parties. If someone started to talk to them, they were not allowed to answer. They said they did not speak any foreign language. They had to get foreign delegates to interpret, and the translators were only those who were approved.

Mr. ARENS. Would you characterize it as a controlled apparatus of the young Communists by the hierarchy of this tyranny?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. Yes. One of the members of the Hungarian delegation—I forget his name—said it was a festival that went under supervision, and they were not allowed to communicate freely with other members.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have experience where the Communist disciplinarians would shunt you aside when you tried to talk to the other young people there who were in the Communist apparatus?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. Yes. I was arrested by the festival police, by the Austria festival police, and they found some Hungarian Communists on the fairgrounds, and they told me they wanted to take me to the ships and they also told me I was a Fascist.

Mr. ARENS. They use the term "Fascist" or "Nazi" against anyone who is not a Communist?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. It does not mean something coherent. It means somebody who is not a Communist.

Mr. ARENS. In part, for the benefit of the young Communists who have appeared in this proceeding today and their dupes sitting in the audience, can you tell us from your own experience, having lived in Hungary, what it is like to live under a Communist regime?

Do you, first of all, in a Communist regime have freedom of religion?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. No. Communists regard religion as one of its most hostile adversaries. They put priests to trials, call them spies for Western powers. They take away the schools of the church.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know this from your own experience while living in Hungary, up to a few years ago?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. What about the schools? Do you have academic freedom in these schools?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. No, we don't have any academic freedom in Hungary. The schools are the most important means of getting under their influence. They try to indoctrinate the youth because they don't care much about the older people. They want to indoctrinate the youth, and they want to make them into human machines who are indoctrinated with their ideas.

Mr. ARENS. Part of the Communist fraud that they perpetrate on young people here in this country is that Communists are really liberals, and it has sort of an attraction to the imaginative young people to be liberal. Can you tell us now were the Communists liberal in Hungary?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. No, they weren't. For instance, Leninism, which is the term they constantly use to denote the Communist ideology, is made a compulsory subject in all schools, particularly large universities, and much time is devoted to study of Marxism, Leninism, and political philosophy. Nobody is allowed to read works of modern philosophies or other theories. They are branded bourgeois or petty bourgeois or capitalistic. They say they want to keep people's minds clear.

Mr. ARENS. If there were a free election in Hungary tomorrow, what percentage of the votes would the Communists get, based on your experience in that country?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. Shortly after the end of the Second World War there was an election in Hungary, and 83 percent voted against Communists when the Soviet occupation forces took over power. Later, there was a Hungarian revolt, which I could denote as another kind of upheaval. Perhaps only 1 percent of their country, who stuck to the Communist line, wanted to go back to Russia after 4 or 5 days.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us your experiences in summary form. We only have a few minutes before the members must go to the floor.

Will you tell us your experiences as a student in Hungary during the Hungarian revolution, so that these young Communists who are in this room now, with smiles of cynicism on their faces, might begin to comprehend—if it is possible to penetrate their conditioned minds on this—what it is for a young person to live in the awful tyranny of communism. Please tell us of your experiences in Hungary during the Hungarian revolution, and how it started. I understand you were one of the witnesses of it when it first broke out.

Mr. SZENTENDREY. After the Communists took over in Hungary in 1958, the schools were secularized, which meant the State took over control. Only the textbooks approved by the party could be used, and many of the teachers regarded as reactionaries were discarded.

The admission into the higher education was made on political grounds, not on grounds of educational ability or academic results. There was what they branded as the "enemy class." In the elementary school the teachers had to mark their students with A, B, C, or X, which were not grades, but it meant the political affiliation of the parents. X meant a student could not get into the university.

Mr. ARENS. In view of the time problem we have here, may I invite your attention to the date October 23, 1956. Where were you and what happened at that time in Budapest, on October 23, 1956?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. On October 23, 1956, there was planned a peaceful demonstration, which was the method of the Hungarian National Student Association at that time, and we planned to go to one of the statues of a former Hungarian.

Mr. ARENS. You were all students?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And there was a planned protest against them?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. Yes, against faults and mistakes of the regime, but sometimes even they themselves admitted it.

The demonstration was first banned, but a few hours before that time—

Mr. ARENS. You say this liberal Communist regime banned the demonstration?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. Yes, but a few hours before the set time, because of public pressure, the ban was lifted. Police were concentrated in the cities, and secret police, we were advised, the day before. And also there were rumors that the Russian troops that were stationed in the countryside were moving toward Budapest, the capital city.

The demonstration force made one or two speeches in front of the parliament building.

Mr. ARENS. What happened at the demonstration then?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. The police called on the people to disband, and there were other groups of people in other parts of the city, such as

at the parliament building. Some of the group started to pull down a statue of Stalin which was on a site previously occupied by the Catholic Church, and a statue of Stalin had been erected. Others went to the radio building, and they wanted to broadcast 16 points of their demands.

A group of four or five people went into the building. Nobody asked whether they were allowed to enter, and after they didn't come back for more than half an hour, the people began to be worried about them and asked the guards what happened, and the guards then started shooting at the unarmed group.

Mr. ARENS. The guards started shooting at the unarmed group?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. Yes. They also brought in Hungarian military forces.

Mr. ARENS. How old were these youngsters who participated in the demonstration at which the Communist regime shot into the crowd?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. The students were from high-school age to about 25. They were at the age when people are usually at universities.

Mr. ARENS. About 150 Hungarians were executed the other day. They were alleged to have been participants in this freedom fight, this struggle for freedom. They were 14 or 15 years of age when they participated and, according to the information we have, they were executed right after they had reached the age of 18.

Is there a law there in Hungary under this Communist regime that allows them to keep youngsters 14 to 15 until they reach 18 and then kill them?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. According to the civil law, no; but according to the military law, if somebody has passed 16 years of age at the time of committing a crime, he can be executed.

Mr. ARENS. What happened next, after the guard shot into this crowd of students who were peacefully demonstrating against this regime in public?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. The people, surprisingly enough, disbanded. But then they attacked the guards with bare hands, took away the weapons from some of them, and then the soldiers who were brought into the neighboring streets started giving them heavy weapons.

Mr. ARENS. The soldiers of Hungary joined the students?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. What happened next?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. Then street fighting lasted for 4 or 5 days, and snipers were wiped out.

Mr. ARENS. In their international propoganda which they disseminate to comrades and to those who are dupes in this apparatus the Communists say that this Hungarian revolution was not a revolution at all, that it was inspired by the Fascists and people like the Un-American Activities Committee, and the like. Was it a spontaneous revolt against communism in which you participated, or was it something inspired by Fascists, imperialists?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. It started first against State authority. Perhaps it would not break out into a revolt if they did not shoot on the people, but the dissatisfaction was there and nobody liked the regime. But without their attacking first, there would not have been anything.

Mr. ARENS. We have taken voluminous testimony on our record,

from time to time, as have other committees, respecting the awful suppression there by Khrushchev and his forces, and the open deceit, duplicity, and the like, where they took the peace negotiators from the freedom fighters out and slaughtered them, etc. We will not attempt to duplicate all that, but I only want to ask you what happened to you as a young freedom fighter there.

Give us the account of what happened to you, please.

MR. SZENTENDREY. The next day I was arrested by the security police because of street fightings. I was kept in prison for several days. They called us Fascists and traitors and threatened to shoot us. I suppose they would have shot us if they had the courage to do so. They were shooting outside in the city, and I think that is what kept them from it.

MR. ARENS. How long did the secret police keep you?

MR. SZENTENDREY. For five days, until the freedom fighters won a strike attempt.

MR. ARENS. Then you eventually escaped and came to the West, to the free world?

MR. SZENTENDREY. Yes, after 3 or 4 more weeks in Hungary.

MR. ARENS. I did not want to duplicate the events of the uprising because it is so much a matter of public record now. I just want to ask you one final question, Mr. Szentendrey.

You have seen communism in action, and you have lived as a student and young person under communism in action, you have seen what communism does, you have seen suppression by communism, and you have seen likewise, I am sure, some witnesses here today, young Americans who are Communists, who are in this apparatus.

As the chairman said, the overwhelming majority of the young American people are not falling for this.

Do you have any words that you can say now, as a youth who has lived under communism, to the other young people in the United States respecting this Communist operation which is penetrating the youth over the world?

MR. SZENTENDREY. I think I should say that communism has a face which it likes to show outside, and then it has its own practice of dealing with people and dealing with their countries it has occupied. In this second aspect it is very dangerous for all the human rights and the public freedoms—freedom of speech, religion, the church, and everything else.

The Communist dictatorship is a dictatorship by a small minority of the people over the whole nation, and they do not have any contact. They have allegiance only to the Communists and the Communist Party.

MR. ARENS. Are these young people here who have been identified as Communists, free agents as Communists, or are they part of an apparatus of control and condition?

MR. SZENTENDREY. I think some of them are actually card-holding members of the party or just believe their ideology and they spread the ideology. They could be regarded as Communists. It is not so much a question of membership.

MR. ARENS. Are they free agents?

MR. SZENTENDREY. I think they are free agents on their own view and nobody forced them to be.

Mr. ARENS. Is a Communist permitted to have free thoughts? Is he permitted to dissent? Is he permitted to have freedom in the sense that you and I can disagree on our philosophy or outlook?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. Since they never do it, I don't think they are permitted to have their own critics.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest this will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. JOHANSLN. You spoke of communism as being dangerous to freedoms and rights. Is communism dangerous to the very rights of the Constitution of the United States which some of these witnesses before this committee in this hearing have invoked for their own protection?

Mr. SZENTENDREY. Since communism overtly regards the United States as their No. 1 enemy, I think it is only fair to say that it is dangerous against the Constitution of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee appreciates very much your cooperation.

I might say, as an individual, having participated in the plans under which you and other freedom fighters came to the United States, it makes me very proud of the fact that I did participate in assisting people like you who obviously appreciate those institutions that are so dear to all of us, and we appreciate your assistance very much.

The committee is recessed.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 o'clock p.m., February 5, 1960, the committee recessed subject to call of the Chair.)

COMMUNIST TRAINING OPERATIONS
(Communist Activities and Propaganda Among Youth Groups)
Part 3

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 2, 1960

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

EXECUTIVE SESSION ¹

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to notice, at 10 a.m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Francis E. Walter (chairman) presiding.

Subcommittee members: Representatives Francis E. Walter, chairman, Pennsylvania; Clyde Doyle, California; Edwin E. Willis, Louisiana; Donald L. Jackson, California; and Gordon H. Scherer, Ohio.

Committee members present during hearings: Representatives Walter, Doyle, Scherer, and Johansen, Michigan. (Appearances as noted.)

Staff members present: Richard Arens, staff director; Donald T. Appell and Robert H. Goldsborough, investigators.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you rise please?

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MARKMAN. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF MARVIN MARKMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
DAVID REIN**

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. MARKMAN. Marvin Markman, 2528 Cruger Avenue, student.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today, Mr. Markman, in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. MARKMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. MARKMAN. Yes, I am.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, please identify yourself on this record.

Mr. REIN. David Rein, R-e-i-n, 711 Fourteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

¹ Released by the committee and ordered to be printed.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the residence of the witness?

Mr. MARKMAN. New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Markman, kindly give your age?

Mr. MARKMAN. Twenty.

Mr. ARENS. And would you give us a word about your educational background?

Mr. MARKMAN. I was educated in New York City and graduated City College of New York with a bachelor of arts degree, 1960, January.

Mr. ARENS. You are presently a student where?

Mr. MARKMAN. I am not attending school this term.

Mr. ARENS. What is your occupation?

Mr. MARKMAN. I am not employed now.

Mr. SCHERER. Where did you attend school last term?

Mr. MARKMAN. City College of New York.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Markman, some 3 or 4 weeks ago this committee took testimony with respect to activities of a number of young people who had attended the Seventh World Youth Festival held in Vienna.

I should like to first of all display to you a thermofax copy of a letterhead entitled "United States Festival Committee, 246 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N.Y.", on which are listed the national staff. On this letterhead appears, among other names, the following: "Chairman, Marvin Markman."

Kindly look at that letterhead and tell this committee if you are properly identified there as chairman of the United States Festival Committee.

Mr. MARKMAN. At this point I will have to refuse to answer that question on the following grounds:

First of all, it is public knowledge that the festival aided in bringing young people from all parts of the world together in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding. Today, when peace is the central issue facing mankind, these hearings counter the policies of the President in his attempts to achieve world peace and discourage young people in working for this goal.

Secondly, of all, I feel these hearings attempt to stifle and harass young people who in their actions promote the democratic heritage of our country by attending such festivals, by defending the Bill of Rights, by working for civil rights and civil liberties.

I don't believe this committee has any right to inquire into my political beliefs and associations. And I claim the benefits of the first and fifth amendments. I refuse to answer that question.

(Document marked "Markman Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Will you tell us how you attained the status as chairman of the United States Festival Committee? Were you elected or were you appointed?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same to this question.

Mr. ARENS. So we won't waste the committee's time or your time, do you here and now refuse to answer all questions respecting the United States Festival Committee and any status or post you may have occupied with it?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

Mr. ARENS. Do you refuse to answer any questions respecting the United States Festival Committee and your chairmanship of it?

Mr. MARKMAN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Markman, have you ever applied for a U.S. passport?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now, if you please, sir, a photostatic reproduction of a passport application executed on October 2, 1958, bearing the signature of Marvin J. Markman, which we have procured from the Department of State.

I ask you first of all, please, sir, to examine the last page of it on which appears your signature and tell us whether or not that is a true and correct reproduction of your signature.

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Markman, you will observe on page 2 of this photostatic reproduction of the passport application, blanks which appear after questions: "Are you now a member of the Communist Party? Write yes or no." "Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party? Write yes or no." "If ever a member, state period of membership, from — to —."

I invite your attention specifically to these items, and I ask you whether or not at the time you executed the passport application, as indicated here in 1958, you were then a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

Mr. ARENS. In the passport application under the question respecting the purpose of your proposed trip the following appears: "Tourist." Under the heading, "List each country to be visited" appears: "England, France, Italy, Austria, and Switzerland."

Did you in 1958 intend to make a trip to England, France, Italy, Austria, and Switzerland as a tourist?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, in 1958 at the time you filed your passport application, contemplate a trip to Europe for the purpose of engaging in preliminary arrangements for the Youth Festival to be held in Vienna?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

Mr. ARENS. Was a U.S. passport issued to you pursuant to the application which you filed with the State Department?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Leonard Potash? I observe here in this passport application that he is given as a witness to your signature.

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

(Document marked "Markman Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Is Leonard Potash to your certain knowledge a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

Mr. ARENS. Did you leave the United States in 1958?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

Mr. ARENS. Did you travel to Europe in 1958?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Markman, I display to you a thermofax reproduction of a report of an organizational meeting of the United States Festival Committee held October 4, 1958, and ask you to examine

it and tell us if that report is factual when it states, "The meeting opened at 10:45 a.m. with introductory words of welcome by the Chairman, Marvin Markman * * *."

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

(Document marked "Markman Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

The CHAIRMAN. Where was this meeting?

Mr. ARENS. In New York.

Now, Mr. Markman, on the record which we are continuing today, we have had the testimony of responsible witnesses under oath to the effect that the leadership of the United States Festival Committee was comprised of persons who were known to be members of the Communist Party.

Do you have information bearing on that subject matter which you could supply to this committee at this time?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same as before.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Charles Wiley was a member of the United States Festival Committee delegation. Did you know him?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

Mr. ARENS. In the course of his testimony, Mr. Wiley testified that the leaders of the United States Festival Committee, whom he identified as Marvin Markman, Paul Robeson, Jr., and Alan McGowan, received instruction on how they should operate within the American delegation from the leaders of the International Preparatory Committee, whom he identified as Jean Garcias, a French Communist; Floyd Williston, a Canadian Communist; and Max Schneider, an Austrian Communist. To your knowledge is this testimony of Mr. Wiley's true?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

Mr. ARENS. Did you in December of 1958 and in January of 1959 participate in preparations for a festival in Vienna, Austria, known as the Seventh World Youth Festival?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Markman, on this record, which we are continuing today, Mr. Herbert Romerstein, Charles Wiley, and Charles Jones testified to the effect that at a meeting of the majority of the American youth in Vienna a vote was taken on a motion and adopted which rejected the leadership of the United States Festival Committee. Were any votes taken which rejected the leadership of McGowan, Paul Robeson, Jr., and yourself, to your knowledge?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now a thermofax reproduction of a report which has been identified to this committee by reputable witnesses under oath as a report issued in Vienna, Austria.

This report bears the typewritten names of Marvin Markman, Althea Sims, Paul Robeson, Jr., and Alan McGowan.

The first paragraph of this report reads:

The elected representatives of the United States Festival Committee have been negotiating with the American Youth Festival Organization in an attempt to end the destructive split among us.

and the like.

Kindly look at that report and tell us whether or not you authorized your name to be affixed to the report.

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer is the same.

(Document marked "Markman Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Since you were subpoenaed to appear before this committee in the current hearings, have you issued any public statements respecting the hearings?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now, if you please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of a statement issued by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which contains a statement of Marvin Markman who is identified as having served as chairman of the United States Festival Committee at the Seventh World Youth Festival in Vienna in the summer of 1959.

Is this statement which I now display to you a true and correct reproduction of a statement prepared and issued by yourself under the auspices of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee respecting the instant hearings in which you are now appearing?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

(Document marked "Markman Exhibit No. 5" and retained in the committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I now display to you a photostatic reproduction of a report from the United States Festival Committee issued, according to the terms of the document, at 5 o'clock on January 26, 1959, and I ask you if the attack upon the individuals and organizations contained in this report was, like the attack contained in your statement, intended to give aid and comfort to the Communist control of the Seventh World Youth Festival?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same on this.

(Document marked "Markman Exhibit No. 6" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Markman, I display to you a thermofax reproduction of an article appearing in the Communist Worker a few days ago, February 28, 1960.

I should like to read you a few paragraphs from it and then I will display the entire document to you.

It is entitled: "N. Y. City Marxist Youth Group Formed."

The Lincoln holiday weekend saw the formation of "Advance," a Marxist youth organization, in N.Y. Some 125 youth from the five boroughs discussed and ratified Jake Rosen's report for the organizing committee, then adopted a political program, and reports on education and social, culture and sports, and the like.

I am skipping several paragraphs. Then the following appears:

Following the adoption of the report and the selection of a temporary name, officers were elected. Paul Perlman was named president unanimously. Other officers elected were Jake Rosen and Marvin Markman, vice presidents, Mike Stein, educational director, and six delegates-at-large.

Kindly look at this article that appeared in the Communist Worker a few days ago and tell this committee whether or not the facts recited there to your knowledge are true and correct.

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same on this.

Mr. ARENS. Are you the person who was elected vice president of this new Marxist group which was formed in New York City just a few weeks ago, named Advance?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same on that, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Is this group to your certain knowledge controlled by persons known by you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same on that.

(Document marked "Markman Exhibit No. 7" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Markman, are you now, at the time of your appearance today before the Committee on Un-American Activities, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same on that.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Markman, I should like to display to you, if you please, sir, three photographs which have been identified to this committee by reputable persons who attended the Vienna World Youth Festival, as photographs of groups of persons, including yourself, taken at Vienna.

Kindly look at this first photograph which I display to you and tell this committee whether or not it is a true and correct reproduction of your physical features.

Mr. MARKMAN. A very bad photograph. My answer remains the same.

Mr. ARENS. Is it a true and correct photograph, however?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you two similar photographs identified to this committee as having been taken at Vienna, in which your physical features appear.

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same on this.

(Photographs marked "Markman Exhibit No. 8" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Paul Perlman who was named president a few weeks ago of this new group known as Advance?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

Mr. ARENS. Is Paul Perlman to your certain knowledge a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Jake Rosen and Mike Stein who likewise, according to the Communist Worker of February 28, 1960, were elected as officers of this new group formed in New York City, to be known as Advance?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same on this and I really don't think that the committee has a right, moral or constitutional, to question my personal associations or beliefs.

Mr. ARENS. We don't want to question your associations or beliefs. We only want information respecting communism or persons who, to your certain knowledge, are members of the Communist Party.

Mr. Markman, according to the Communist Worker of Sunday, February 28, 1960, the Advance organization, which some 125 youth have apparently joined, adopted an educational program which will support the Student Committee on Progressive Education and the Faculty of Social Science.

Can you give us information from your own knowledge as to whether or not both of these organizations, the Student Committee on Progressive Education and the Faculty of Social Science, are controlled by individuals who, to your certain knowledge, are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the name of that?

Mr. ARENS. The new group is called Advance, A-d-v-a-n-c-e.

It was just formed, according to the Communist Worker of February 28, 1960, a few weeks ago.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the name of the other organization?

Mr. ARENS. The two other organizations which have an alliance with the Advance, according to this article, are the Student Committee on Progressive Education and the Faculty of Social Science.

The CHAIRMAN. The Faculty of Social Science is successor to the Jefferson School.

Mr. ARENS. The chairman will recall we had hearings on that very issue some several months ago.

Mr. Chairman, we have covered with Mr. Markman the principal points of inquiry we had in mind.

There are a number of incidental matters we could inquire into, but with his answers remaining the same all the way through, I dislike to impose upon the committee's time further.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

According to my recollection there were two groups, one from Chicago and the other from New York.

Did that mean that they all lived in those two cities; do you know?

Mr. MARKMAN. My answer remains the same on that.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. The witness is excused.

(Whereupon, at 10:25 a.m., the hearing recessed until 2 p.m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—WEDNESDAY, MARCH 2, 1960

The subcommittee reconvened at 2 p.m., Representative Francis E. Walter (chairman) presiding.

Members of the subcommittee present at time of reconvening: Representatives Walter and Scherer.

The CHAIRMAN. We will come to order.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, the next witness is Mr. Stephen Tyler.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Tyler, do you solemnly swear that the evidence you shall give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TYLER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF STEPHEN TYLER

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. TYLER. My name is Stephen Tyler. My residence is Hotel Regent, 2720 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. And your occupation?

Mr. TYLER. My occupation is free-lance writer. I am also a part-time radio panelist.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly give us a word about your personal background and education?

Mr. TYLER. I am 26 years of age. I was brought up in New York City, and left school at the age of 16, and I am mainly self-educated.

Mr. ARENS. Give us just a word, please, Mr. Tyler, about your professional experience as a writer.

Mr. TYLER. I began doing some writing at about 21, when I left for Europe. That was January 1956, and I remained 4 years in Europe and Morocco and lived in most of the major countries. I worked for Reuters News Service for a while and published several articles in magazines.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Tyler, did you and your wife attend the Youth Festival held in Moscow in 1957?

Mr. TYLER. Yes, we did.

Mr. ARENS. Briefly please, sir, tell us what occasioned your visit to the Youth Festival.

Mr. TYLER. My wife and I saw in the Youth Festival an opportunity to see the Soviet Union and Moscow.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you when you contemplated going to the Youth Festival?

Mr. TYLER. We were in London at the time, and we saw an advertisement in a British student magazine, saying that anyone under 35 could go to the Youth Festival as travelers. And as a writer I wanted to see Moscow and Russia with my own eyes.

At the time it was impossible to get any more than a 10-day visa to Russia, to my knowledge. This Youth Festival enabled us to stay in Russia for 5 weeks.

Mr. ARENS. How were your expenses paid?

Mr. TYLER. We paid the expenses to go to the Youth Festival ourselves.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us an indication of the cost? Roughly speaking.

Mr. TYLER. \$130 each. It included the room, the board, and the transportation from London to Moscow, and back.

Mr. ARENS. Now, in order that we will not, on this record, Mr. Tyler, duplicate items of information which have been the subject of testimony by other witnesses, may I ask you to recount, first of all, the scenes which you beheld there at the Youth Festival under Communist auspices?

Mr. TYLER. To my experience, there are two purposes of a youth festival:

(1) To convert young people from the Western and uncommitted nations over to communism; and (2) to give the Communist peoples the idea of foreign youth converting over to the Communist cause en masse.

Mr. ARENS. Would you give us a few examples of this, please?

Mr. TYLER. Yes. Here are some examples of the first purpose:

Two great rallies were held at Lenin Stadium, which seats approximately 100,000 people, during the Youth Festival. My wife and I attended one of these—the opening Youth Festival ceremonies. Refusing to partake in it, we sat in the bleachers with the Russians, so we were able to see it from their point of view.

As at least 100,000 Russians looked on, and as the TV and the movie cameras ground away, delegations from—at least it seemed—almost every country in the world marched in a circle around the stadium, each carrying their national flags. They then assembled in prearranged spots set up behind colored streamers in the center of the field. Every delegation carried its national flag, and many carried various communistic slogans. The spectacle was calculated to be exciting and

to create enthusiasm by the use of much music, color, and the strategic placing of cheering teams about the audience.

The stadium was well equipped with microphones, so that although many Russians in the audience appeared no more than mildly curious and only clapped briefly, the loudspeakers presented an almost constant din of thunderous applause.

I wondered at the time if there weren't records of applause being played. It was either that or the microphones were set up in such a way among the audience, and especially among the cheering teams within the audience, that every possible sound could be picked up.

When all the delegations had marched, danced, and sung their way around the field and were assembled, the spectacle was, briefly, this: Dozens of national flags from throughout the world, carried by enthusiastic youth assembled under the great Youth Festival insignia; dozens of Soviet flags high above set in the circle above the field; and the smiling faces of Khrushchev applauding and looking on. Then hundreds of peace doves were let loose in the air. To the easily conditioned mind, it represented the youth of the world endorsing communism and/or peace and friendship.

From the photographic point of view, Communists could not have made more use of the Youth Festival.

Mr. ARENS. Have you seen any evidence of the use of these photographs?

Mr. TYLER. Yes. During the next 3 months—from Peking to Prague—photographic displays, under glass, were set up in the streets, showing the passersby photos of the above-mentioned grand display and photos of every stage of the festival. Favorites were of the youth of the world shown singing or dancing under the hammer and sickle.

Judging from my own experience, the Communists often set up meetings for the sole purpose of getting good camera shots. One example of this was a meeting we attended in Moscow with an architects' union. There were two rooms. In one we were feasted with wine and strong vodka. After Americans and Russians were in a gay and intoxicated mood, we were herded into a second room, with a stage above, on which stood crossed American and Russian flags and huge portraits of Lenin and Stalin. As the youth drunkenly danced and sang, the group was surrounded by a ring of chairs. In back of the chairs were assembled movie, TV, and still cameras and sets of floodlights. One head cameraman directed the proceedings of all the cameramen and the handymen who pushed the chairs into the group at a given signal, thereby pressing the group—unconsciously—closer together. It represented an excellent shot: American youth dancing under Lenin, Stalin, and Russian flags.

I counted at least 12 movie cameras and the same number of still cameras. The photos of this "meeting" we saw later in Peking in a street display, under glass, as well as in picture displays in Moscow. The whole affair looked, and was handled, exactly as if it were a movie set, and the American group were the extras.

My wife and I stood out of view of the cameras.

I saw dozens of such shots displayed in newspapers and magazines throughout the Communist world. The festival was fully covered by Soviet TV and by newsreel. There was hardly a meeting I at-

tended where professional photographers were not present with their flashbulbs or movie cameras.

Mr. ARENS. Now, you said you thought there was a second purpose for the festival. Would you kindly give a few pertinent examples of that purpose?

Mr. TYLER. Yes. Examples of the second purpose of youth festivals—that of converting foreign youth over to the Communist side—are as follows:

Every day during the festival, meetings were arranged between delegations from Communist and non-Communist countries. The American group in this way met groups from almost every Communist country.

The procedure was that we would first be served tea and cake, during which time official greetings were exchanged, speeches made, and then perhaps a display of folk music, followed by a general mixture of individuals who got off into little groups.

As the Communist delegates were inevitably Young Communist League officials who had gotten top honors in political science and Marxism-Leninism courses, the Communists were able to present a uniform point of view to the comparatively untrained non-Communists—and present it well. These personal discussions greatly contributed to the indoctrination—and I might say, the Communist delegates presented points of view somewhat in contradiction to the average man in the street of a Communist country. Where the many we met in the street inevitably admitted the crimes of Stalin and often other bad points about their government, the trained delegates were unable to see anything bad about any facet of the theory and practice of communism.

Other methods of indoctrination were guided tours to factories and collective farms and schools. Also during the festival many seminars were held.

When applying for admittance to the Youth Festival, we were asked in the applications what our main interests and hobbies were. As a result, meetings were arranged between Communists and non-Communists of the same occupations and interests. Seminars were held for teachers, engineers, medical and law students, to name just a few. Seminars were also held for those interested in music, painting, sculpture, and even stamp collecting. Every speech at these seminars was fraught with propaganda. For instance, at painting seminars, it was explained that art must be intelligible to the masses and present the problems and the aspirations of the masses, et cetera.

Much literature was handed out at the festival. A free hardbound book on the Soviet Union was given to each delegate, presenting statistics comparing Tsarist days with the present, a history of the revolution and a history of Russia, and was well salted with propaganda. Magazines on the festival and a picture book on Moscow were also handed out. We even received a tube of "Peace and Friendship" toothpaste, depicting scenes of Westerners, Chinese, Negroes, and Russians, smiling and shaking hands.

We found ample evidence that Russians, when in groups, will neither talk freely with each other nor with foreigners.

Of about a dozen Russians which my wife or I invited at various times to our hotel, only one of that dozen accepted, the others giving

excuses which seemed to have been made up, especially as all of them were willing to talk to us for hours on the street, and many gave us their addresses and begged us to write to them.

The one person that did come to our quarters was a military official who, as he related, was high up enough in the Communist hierarchy to receive the full text of the famous Khrushchev report which criticized Stalin.

Mr. ARENS. Have you any other examples you would care to give us Mr. Tyler?

Mr. TYLER. Yes; for instance:

My wife and I became friendly with a young lady who, although generally in favor of Marxism, had many bitter criticisms of the regime, especially concerning the favoritism in the universities shown to the children of bureaucrats. She related that the children of party members, or bureaucrats, would go on into the universities of their choosing with very little trouble, while those whose parents had no place in the Communist hierarchy often had very difficult times getting into the universities or the courses of their choosing. She also said that the children of the bureaucrats were given the type of work assignments which they requested that were offered in the large cities, while the children who were not from bureaucratic families or whose families were not in the party were often given assignments in Siberia or in the outskirts of the Soviet Union or assignments of work which they did not want upon completion of their university courses.

This young lady refused to visit us at the delegates' quarters, saying that plain-clothes secret police were always about and would report anyone who visited us.

Mr. ARENS. Was this young lady the only Russian to tell you about the omnipresent secret police?

Mr. TYLER. No. Other Russians which we met, or which friends of ours met, had the same thing to say, that is, that there were plain-clothes secret police hanging around our living quarters who were there to spy on visitors.

When leaving my wife after a day together, she would walk with my wife to within a couple of blocks of the delegates' quarters and then say goodby, for the previously stated reasons. She would never discuss politics within hearing distance of any Russians, and on several occasions when such discussions were being held and someone passed, she would instantly change the subject and make such remarks as "Isn't that a beautiful building?" et cetera.

This was typical of the fear that Russians have in talking in front of other Russians, of giving their political views in front of other Russians or Communists, and I would like to name the following example of this:

I knew a member of the Canadian Communist Party who thought that everything in Russia was honey and roses. This Russian young lady, of course, knew the true situation. She was able to talk about the preference shown children of bureaucrats, about the fact that there were impediments put in the way of traveling within the Soviet Union, that it was difficult to get into Moscow, and a number of other complaints.

I wanted to introduce the Canadian Communist to this Russian young lady. In introducing them, they talked in a friendly way for a while, and then the Canadian mentioned that he was a member of the Communist Party, whereupon the young Russian girl got very scared. She looked absolutely shocked, and from then on, during the conversation, she was constantly on her guard and presented to us and to him a completely different view of the Soviet Union than that which she had previously given to us.

All of a sudden she started spouting the party line.

Mr. ARENS. Did the young lady discuss this matter with you later?

Mr. TYLER. When he left, she was very surprised that we brought him along and seemed angry with us. I think because she saw he was a member of the party she associated him with the secret police, the bureaucracy, and the dictatorship, of which she was afraid. This seemed to me to be the obvious thing.

Another typical example of our meetings with others at the festival was this: My wife met a girl drama student who was leading a large group of younger students to the delegates' quarters. Russians did sometimes come to our quarters on guided tours. She, my wife, and two Russians translators were having a discussion on art. The girl mildly disagreed with the translators and, during the discussion, she winked at my wife, came over to her and said, "We have the same opinions; let us go outside and talk."

Once outside, they continued their discussion of the liabilities of "socialist realism" in art. The girl went on to say that the artist should be able to paint as he liked. The girl was generally in favor of the idea of Marxism, but against the practice of it. Before getting down to the discussion, the girl declined to sit on a certain bench, saying that it was underneath an open window.

I can name many examples of discussions I had with groups of Russians in Moscow University, at public meetings, or on the street. Without exception all such discussions had a stilted quality to them. During 3 weeks in Moscow I spent hours every day engaged in political discussions, and never once saw Russians disagree with each other on any but the most minor details.

After a while, however, I learned to know when the Russians were secretly agreeing with me—a deep look directly into my eyes, or a silent nod, were such indications.

On several occasions Russians approached me after a long discussion, during which time they had said nothing; and when their compatriots were not listening, they would say that they agreed with me.

During such talks Russians would look at me or other non-Communist Americans who were speaking with awe and seemed never to tire of our words. On several occasions my wife and I found chance intimate discussions on the street, turning into lectures on our parts. Within a matter of minutes the group listening to us would expand from one or two, to as many as one hundred.

The other Americans in the group had similar experiences. Two Americans had brought along the United Nations report on Hungary and read it in Red Square to an audience of hundreds.

Although all Russian students must take courses in political science and Marxism-Leninism and were far better informed of their country's political policies than American students are informed of our

country's stand, I rarely saw Russians defend Communist ideas or facts with the gusto that the American Communists display. When Russians did talk with gusto, they usually turned out to be Komsozol or some other officials.

If I were asked in a word to describe the average Russian's attitude toward the political situation in his country and abroad, I would say "self-enforced indifference." That is, they try to be indifferent to what is going on, because it is a matter of survival to them to be indifferent. Yet that political indifference disappears as soon as contact with Westerners is made.

It is of interest to note that, while passing through Moscow on our way back from China, we were unable to telephone or even get the address of the American Embassy. At the time we were staying at a very large modern hotel. I spoke to the two solemn men in their late thirties who had introduced themselves to us as "from the Youth League," and who were acting as translators and guides. After making repeated requests to get the phone number of the embassy from them, and facing repeated delays and evasions, one of them finally indignantly stated that we were asking the impossible—the phone number was not available. I know that at the time there were three girls at the hotel switchboard.

Mr. ARENS. Was it easy to travel about on your own in Moscow?

Mr. TYLER. Because of where our living quarters were situated, I would say it was very difficult to travel about Moscow. In this way individual tours were possibly subtly discouraged. From our quarters it took approximately one and a quarter hours to get to the center of the city by bus and subway. We had to be back at our living quarters twice during the day for meals.

Hundreds of buses were available for guided tours, but none to shuttle delegates or individuals between the living quarters and Moscow proper.

We also found it difficult to get into the homes of Russians, and only visited one Russian at home—the aforementioned official.

During my time in Russia I wrote two letters home which never got there. Both were strongly anti-Communist and probably were destroyed, because in 4 years in Europe I never wrote one letter home which failed to reach America.

My wife and I took the names of several Russians and their addresses and wrote to them from Western Europe. We received one reply from each of them, which were very friendly replies, begging us to write again. We wrote and then received no further letters from them, from any of them.

On speaking to non-Communist Americans and English who had attended the Youth Festival, they had almost exactly the same experiences, that is, the Russians did not reply to their letters, or would reply once.

The one very anti-Communist letter that I wrote from China also never reached America.

Mr. ARENS. Now, would you kindly tell us the circumstances pursuant to which you and your wife journeyed from Moscow and into Red China?

Mr. TYLER. All the Americans in Moscow were invited on a free tour through Communist China, lasting approximately 7 weeks. The

invitation to us was given by the All-China Federation of Democratic Youth, through the Chinese Embassy and the Chinese delegation to the Youth Festival.

Approximately 140 Americans were invited to China, of whom 43 accepted the invitation.

Mr. ARENS. Now, would you proceed to tell us, in your own way, the significant occurrences which you observed on your visit to Red China?

Mr. TYLER. We spent about 8 days on the Trans-Siberian Railroad, traveling from Moscow to Peking. We changed trains at the Manchurian border.

We were well taken care of; we had two full cars for the 43 people on the trip, plus a dining car.

We arrived in China August 24, 1957. In my opinion, our Chinese tour occurred for the same reason as the Youth Festival, for the purpose of embarrassing the United States of America and adding extra propaganda for the Communist fire. The invitation was accepted by my wife and me for two reasons: Firstly, practically all the individuals who accepted the Chinese invitation were Communists or fellow travelers; and in order to cover the China trip, CBS, NBC, UP, and AP had picked up correspondents from among the 43. Of the four correspondents which they hired, three of them had had intensive Communist connections, though I cannot say that any were Communist Party members. I don't know. One of them, however, told me he had been a member of the American Labor Party.

My wife and I realized that they would give an entirely arbitrary view of Communist China, because they seemed to know all about it before they even left. They were going there with closed minds. Our ambition was to try to do some reporting on our own, which we subsequently did.

I worked with Reuters News Agency, and sent in approximately 14 dispatches, most of which appeared on the front pages of the Renter subscribers in America. Most of these dispatches were in contradiction to the reports sent out by the other members of the press.

In effect, the Chinese were inviting 43 American passports stamped "Not Good for Travel to Communist China."

For propaganda purposes we were allowed a 2-hour interview with Chou En-lai, and were able to meet such notables as Janos Kadar, Premier of Hungary. The only person in the group who met Mao Tse-tung, who is normally inaccessible, was Joanne Grant.

We saw the following cities in China: Port Arthur, Dairen, Tientsin. We spent approximately 2 weeks in Peking. We saw Wuhan, Changchun, Nanking, Shanghai, Hangchow, and Canton.

Mr. ARENS. Was a particular schedule followed while in China?

Mr. TYLER. Yes. Generally it was the same routine as the Youth Festival—guided tours to factories, farms, schools, sports palaces, and so forth. Morning, noon, and night, there were events scheduled—about four or five each period of the waking day.

Getting off by ourselves presented no problem, however, as almost all the hotels were in the centers of the cities.

There were two exceptions, however, where hotels were in the suburbs. Both were built after the so-called "liberation." Those were

in Hangchow and Nanking. Our time in each city seemed dependent on how much there was that was "post-liberation" to show us. The Communists were obviously making an attempt to shower us with a show of progress. If one didn't get out alone, he got a view of unending new buildings. If there were only six new buildings in a city of three million, we would see them all and then go on to the next city for the next batch of new stuff.

My wife and I, being fairly seasoned travelers, realized what an erroneous view one could get from guided tours, and so spent much of our time wandering around alone. The view we got was frankly quite different than much of what had been reported by other travelers. With the exception of Peking, we saw little that was new. Our method was to get into a petty cab and tell the driver to just take us around for 2 hours or so. And we could ride for hours and see not one new dwelling or new building of any sort.

The Chinese have made quite a thing of their guided tours. They invite groups—Communist and non-Communist alike—of trade unionists, writers, playwrights, professors, politicians, and so on. For these tours they have a regular, unvarying program. I found this out partly from reading books by people who had been on these tours and partly from Western newsmen in Peking.

We ran into at least eight other groups of tourists who, like us, were invited to Communist China. All of them had about the same itinerary we had.

Not only do the tourists go to the same places, but they meet the same people, such as Yung Hung Zen, described to me by the head of Reuters Peking, as "China's Little Capitalist Boy," president and inheritor of the Sung Sing Textile Mills.

Mr. ARENS. Did Mr. Yung spend any time with the American students?

Mr. TYLER. He spent the whole 5 days we were in Shanghai pointing out the sights, translating, and lighting our cigarettes.

He has been mentioned in a number of books written by Western Europeans who went to China, as typical of the new capitalists who were well cared for and are now productive members of society.

From what I saw, and from what Western newsmen told me, he and many others of his type are no more than paid tourist guides and paid spreaders of Communist jargon.

Mr. Yung tells naive stories of capitalists happily giving up their factories, dollars, and stocks to the people. Judging by foreign writers, such as Simone de Beauvoir, he does an excellent job of convincing the naive that no one, not even capitalists, have been mistreated in the "New China."

We went to Mr. Yung's factory, or one of his factories, and he admitted to us that he had entertained approximately one group of foreign tourists a week in his factory over the last year. He also invited us to his home in two different groups for dinner, one group going one night and the next part of the group going the other night. If he gave as much time to each tour that he gave to our particular tour, he must have been kept very busy by the pure act of showing tourists around and giving his line of propaganda.

The man's mind seemed utterly devoid of anything other than Communist propaganda, and he mouths the same propaganda that one can

read in any Chinese newspaper and magazine and that one hears from one end of China to the other, from officials, translators, and those that are invited to gatherings between tourists and Chinese. Not only the same opinions, but the same phrases, were heard from "the typical workers, fishermen, boatmen, engineers," et cetera, that we were introduced to during the trip. I frankly learned that almost every one of these professional tourist greeters are outright liars.

MR. ARENS. Would you elucidate on this point, please, Mr. Tyler?

MR. TYLER. For instance, four different individuals whom we met, all well qualified, told us that (1) no Chinese can change his address or travel without government permission; and (2) every Chinese carries a passport listing his economic class, the names of his associates, relatives, friends, where they live, what they do, and containing his autobiography since the age of eight.

These facts, however, were flatly denied by every interpreter and most of the people we were purposely introduced to at official functions.

There is an individual known among correspondents as "China's Little Christian Boy." He is head of the Marxist Catholic Youth League, but occupies the same tourist guide function as Yung Hung Zen.

In Shanghai, I and Mr. Dan O'Connell attended a meeting called for our benefit by the Marxist Catholic Youth League. We talked to a number of young people. They have the same line of thought and propaganda that we could read in any Chinese magazine and that we had been hearing from one end of China to the other.

The Chinese have a thoroughness to their attempts at indoctrination which the Russians do not possess. In Moscow we were able to purchase copies of *The New York Times*, which were sent direct to our delegation with Russian permission. In China, repeated requests for Hong Kong newspapers were met with repeated evasions. When I requested them in the name of the group in Peking I was told that there were shipping difficulties in sending them such a long distance; when we requested them in Canton—40 miles from Hong Kong—we were told that there were monetary exchange difficulties. This is in spite of the new American cars in the streets, in spite of the Kodak film in every camera store, in spite of the American whiskey and the English clothes for sale.

I might say from my observation of China that the Chinese have little difficulty in getting the American goods that they want.

In a locomotive factory in Manchuria we even saw a brand new piece of heavy American machinery.

MR. ARENS. Give us a word please, Mr. Tyler, on the Chinese indoctrination program.

MR. TYLER. There was almost constant indoctrination. In every city, upon arrival, we would be sent to a hotel and given a lecture before even going to our rooms, usually containing statistics which seemed to me to be outright lies.

To give a strong example of what seemed to be exaggerated statistics, we were told that in Shanghai in 1948 there were three cases of robbery or blackmail reported every minute; now they say there is an average of four robberies or blackmailing cases every year. This in a city of six million!

The factories we saw presented a similar spectacle. Most were old, containing "preliberation" American or Japanese machinery, and yet we would be given statistics showing the rate of production rising steadily, from 1948 to 1957, to heights of 10, 20, 30 times.

When I pointed out the contradictions between the old machines and the Gargantuan statistics, I was told that before the "liberation," these factories had not produced at capacity and that the workers, being bitter, worked as little as possible. Frankly, from my own experiences, I feel that China has been giving the world very much of a story with exaggerated production statistics. During our whole time in China there was exactly one all-new factory which any of the group visited—a truck building plant in Changchun, though in most factories we saw at least one new Chinese or Russian machine.

But we did not see enough new machinery or buildings to justify the great rate of production increases which have been released by the Chinese to the world since 1951.

At times the lies of the interpreters became ludicrous. On two occasions college buildings which had already become aged and were at least 20 years old, were pointed out to me as post-liberation buildings.

A railway car we were riding in was said by an interpreter in a little speech to the group to be on its first run. But it showed every sign of dating back to the 1930's—its metal being discolored and worn.

In the face of such lies, barrages of propaganda and speeches, one begins to feel his mind unwillingly cooperates with the Communists. There is a calculated attempt to misuse words by the Chinese in order to create certain associations. "American" or "English" are always followed by words "imperialists" or "aggressors." "Chinese" or "Russian" are always followed by the words "peacemakers" or "people." Not one word can be said about the West without a gentle sprinkling of such terms as Fascists, warmongers, exploiters; not one word about the Communist nations without the usual assortment of such terms as democracies, freedom, friendly, and so on.

Mr. ARENS. Please tell us the effects of their indoctrination program.

Mr. TYLER. When one listens to several speeches a day—before meals, on a guided tour, after meals, on arrival and departure from cities, et cetera—is in constant consultation or discussion with the interpreters, and is presented with constant Communist literature, one develops a series of Pavlovian associations which are only repressed with difficulty. One begins to feel as if his mind were floating on air and his thoughts devoid of substance.

I believe the Chinese tour, which hundreds, if not thousands, of foreigners go on every year, is a well planned and calculated attempt to indoctrinate by the use of Pavlovian techniques. Unfortunately, because the Chinese Communists are so thorough and are such open-faced liars, they are bound to have more success in indoctrinating foreigners than do the Russians.

The majority of people in the group were Communists or fellow travelers. Of about six nonpolitical members of our group, about half turned strongly anti-Communist, and the other half turned strongly pro-Communist as a result of the tour.

I would say this tour does have an excellent indoctrination effect from the Communist point of view on those peoples from the poor

nations of the world, which make up the majority of the guided tourists in China.

I am saying this, judging from my own experience of meeting Burmese delegations, Indonesian delegations, Indian delegations, Cuban, Egyptian, and delegations from other underdeveloped countries.

In closing, the fact is that Russia is poor and totalitarian; America is rich and free.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Tyler, for your testimony.

Mr. TYLER. Thank you for giving me the opportunity to be of help.

(Whereupon, at 3:40 p.m., Wednesday, March 2, 1960, the hearing was adjourned.)

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